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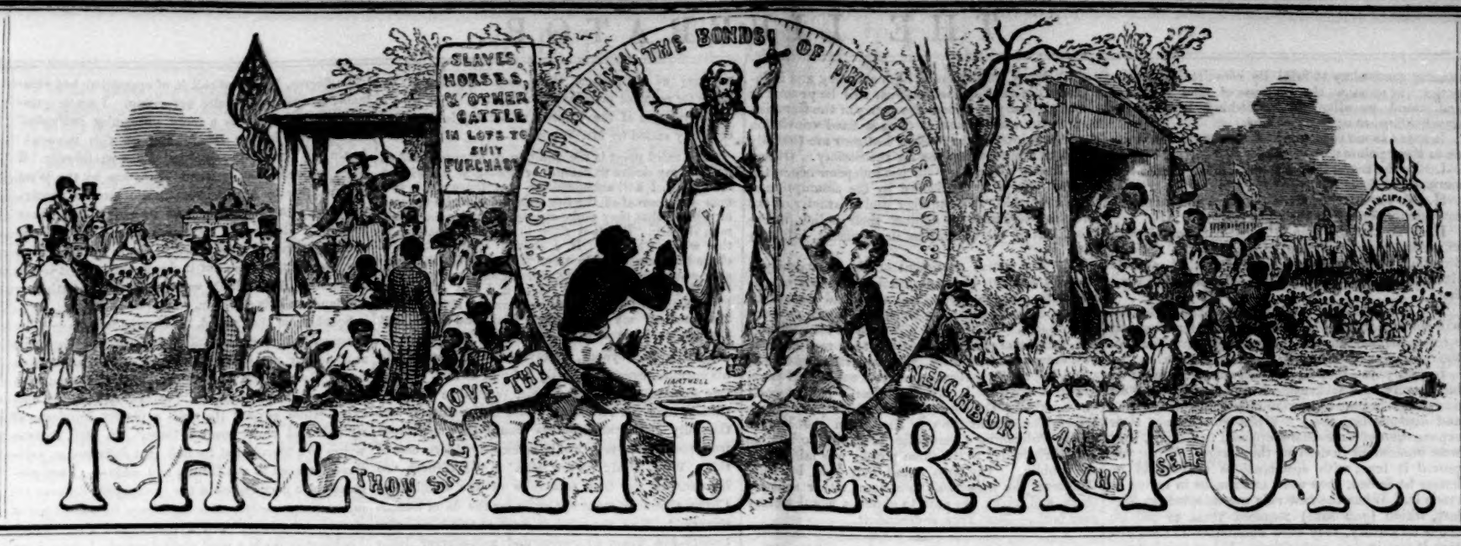
SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
"COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED"
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF

THE LIBERATOR.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'

☞ 'The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but *they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke.* On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and *must walk in it.* To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.' — WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Southern Reveille.

FREE NEGROES PERMITTED TO ENSLAVE THEMSELVES.

The Texas Legislature passed a law in January last, to permit free negroes to voluntarily enslave themselves, with the right to choose their own masters.

We have, on a former occasion, advocated such a law, and while the policy of the free, as well as the slave States is rapidly tending to the utter exclusion of free negroes from both, such a law is becoming more necessary. Most of the free States are passing laws against the ingress of free negroes, and providing by stringent enactments for driving out such as already inhabit them. On the other hand, the slave States are pursuing, from absolute necessity, the very same policy; and some go so far as to enact that, at the end of a certain period, all free persons of color, found in said States, shall be sold into slavery. The South is driven to this course as an act of self-protection. Any other course is contrary to the policy of our institutions, adverse to the dictates of safety, and destructive of that *perfect system of subordination* so imperatively required in the slave States. The operations of any law, expelling free negroes from our State, would in some instances seem very hard, and it is possible that certain provisions might be incorporated into a law to allow old resident free negroes, of high character, to remain; but the protection of an institution, now bitterly and violently assailed from all quarters, demands no ordinary vigilance, and scarcely admits of any concessions, however hard the case may be. We find, in a late paper, a copy of the Texas law, and as an index to *the proper kind of legislation*, we copy it in full:

An Act to permit Free Persons of African Descent to select their own Masters, and become Slaves.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Texas, That it shall be lawful for any free person of African descent, now in this State, or who may hereafter be within its own limits, being over the age of fourteen years, to choose his or her master, and become a slave, upon the terms and conditions hereafter named; provided, said slave shall not be subject to force sale for any debt incurred by, or judgment rendered against the chosen master, prior to the period of enslavement.

——— 2. Whenever any free person of African descent, as aforesaid, desires to choose a master, such person may file a petition in the District Court of the county in which he or she resides, setting forth his or her desire to choose an owner, and stating the name of such person as he or she desires to select as an owner, which petition shall be signed by the petitioner in the presence of at least two subscribing witnesses. And, thereupon, the Clerk of the Court in which such petition shall have been filed, shall give notice thereof, by posting such notice at the Court House door for four weeks; and said Clerk shall also issue a summons to the petitioner, and the person designated in the petition as the proposed master, citing them to appear before said Court at the term thereof next succeeding the expiration of the publication of said notice, and shall also issue a subpœna for the subscribing witnesses to the petition, which summons and subpœna shall be executed in the same manner as a like process in other cases.

——— 3. Upon the appearance in open Court of both the petitioner and the person designated in the petition as the desired master, the Court shall proceed to examine each party separately, as well as the subscribing witnesses to the petition, and such other persons as the Court may seem fit; at such examination, the District Attorney shall be present, and see that a full examination is had, and he shall represent the petitioner in such examination; and if, upon such examination, the Court shall be satisfied that there is no fraud or collusion between the parties, that the proposed master is a person of good repute, and there is no good reason to the contrary, the said Court shall have power, by decree entered upon the records of the Court, to grant the prayer of the petitioner, and from the entry of such decree the property of said person of African descent, as a slave, shall vest in the person so chosen as master, and his rights and liabilities, and the condition of the petitioner, shall in all respects be the same *as though such petitioner had been born a slave* to the master so chosen.

——— 4. When any petitioner as hereinbefore mentioned shall be a female, having children under fourteen years of age, and shall, in her petition, ask that such children shall become the slaves of the same person chosen by her as her master, if the Court shall, after examination, as in this act before provided, grant the prayer of the petitioner as to herself, it shall also decree such children in like manner to be the slaves of the same owner—Provided, That where the mother of such children of African descent, under the age of fourteen years, shall be deceased, in that case the next friend of such children shall have authority in their behalf to proceed in the same manner to the selection of a master for them as the mother might do under the provisions of this act.

——— 5. (Provides that attorney's fee and proceedings be paid by the chosen master, &c.)

Approved January 28, 1858.

Although this act is of recent enactment, we have seen several instances noticed in our exchanges, where free persons of color have availed themselves of it, selecting good masters, and gone into slavery; thus getting good homes, plenty to eat and wear, protection against want, care in sickness, and all the privileges, both temporal and spiritual, that are possessed by the white man, and really worth enjoying.

A SLAVE STEALER CHAINED TO A SLAVE. John Jones Moore, the 'respectable looking' scamp who was arrested several days ago at Ashland, Va., in company with William Johnson, a slave, belonging to Mrs. Frank Weston, of South Carolina, whom he had abducted per the underground, passed through this city on Wednesday evening, *en route* for Charleston, in custody of a police officer from that city. The noble Greeleyite was chained by the wrist to his too confiding friend Bill, who couldn't help blowing on him at Ashland, and presented an appearance of the most abject shame the human countenance can be capable of expressing. It was a most appropriate method of securing the scoundrel. He was caught taking the slave to the North; now it was *vice versa*, and the slave was taking him to the South.—*Petersburg Express.*

NO SALVATION FOR BLACK MEN. Rev. S. D. D. Baldwin, a Methodist minister, in a recent work, brings forward the original idea that the descendants of Ham and Shem 'enjoy no promise of persuasion or conversion, of faith or confession, as races;' and that 'Millennial glory does not anticipate their full regeneration.' This idea has in it the seed of a new argument in support of slavery.—There is no half-way stopping-place: the slave is either a man or a beast. Which is he?

The Liberator.

LETTER FROM MISS C. F. PUTNAM.

JAMESTOWN, Chautauque County, N. Y., March 4, 1858.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

The other day, our travels took us within a few miles of the spot where Washington came, just one hundred and four years ago last December, to bring Mr. Dinwiddie's remonstrance to the Federal Commander, St. Pierre, of the then Fort Le Bœuf. We did not leave the region as he did, 'shaping his course by the compass, and camping at night in the snow by the forest fires,' but in warm sleighs, and over good roads. Grand forests are there still,—towering pines, of almost fabulous height, upon which eyes of that time must have looked, perhaps Washington's own. How glad we were to enjoy a ride through these, in all the enchantment of winter scenery, before the covetous lumberman's inevitable axe shall lay low their majestic forms! We thought of other contrasts than modes of travelling at that time and this. Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie's young envoy's errand was to support a British assumption of right to (the red man's?) lands, against the hostile claims of the French. The agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society come to demand the unequivocal title of every human being to life—and that abundant life which includes freedom, knowledge, family, houses, land, and all the wealth of improvement and happiness to which each heir of humanity has a sacred birth-right. Ours is the high commissioned duty to remonstrate with Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Democrats and Free Soilers, who ignore, defy and trample on these God-given rights of four millions of their enslaved countrymen.

The Revival contagion, with accounts of which religious and secular newspapers are teeming, has spread to nearly every hamlet and village we have seen and heard of; and I should judge its prevalence was in exact ratio to the pro-slavery conservatism cherished in the communities and territories where it is rife. It is pitiful and disgusting to see with what pious grimaces and hypocritical pretence, ministers and laity decline to welcome an anti-slavery lecturer, because 'there is just now such an interesting state of religious feeling in the place.' As if there was any other name given under heaven whereby men can be saved than Jesus Christ, who came to break the bonds of the oppressed, to give deliverance to the slave,—any other true Gospel and commandment than 'Love God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself.'

In this town, five churches have held continual meetings for weeks and weeks; two of which, the Methodist and Wesleyan, opened on week-day afternoons, to admit Miss Holley's plea for the slave, but reserving the most valuable evening opportunities for their own purposes. I believe the anxiety of all these is, chiefly, to save young people from the dreadful sin and folly of dancing. Indeed, it is said, such are the attractions of these evening excitements, that boys neglect the skating and coasting grounds, and resort to the meeting-houses. During our stay here, we have had most friendly hospitable entertainment at the handsome mansion of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. H. Tew. These kind friends, and others, are now hopeful of having a new church built, where the grand creed, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, is to be preached, and the doors, as they promise, are not to be shut to the cause of the unhappy victims of the odious and tyrannical American Slave Power.

Several years ago, when the town was honored with a visit from the veteran JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, the large Congregational Church was refused for him to address the citizens in, and he was obliged to speak out in the open air, although sick and exhausted with previous effort!

At the close of Miss Holley's first lecture here, given one evening in Academy Hall, an intelligent Episcopal lady rose, and with modest pertinacity confirmed Miss H.'s statements in regard to the mutilation of text-books used in schools, instancing Mandeville's Reader, in which the noble Anti-Slavery sentiments of the earlier editions were now left out, and weak, stupid articles substituted. Apropos to this topic — running my eye, not long since, over the index of a new book, Sanders' Young Ladies' Reader, there stood in full length in the column of Author's names, from whose writings the selections were made, the name of WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

I eagerly turned to the page indicated, and there found the beautiful Sonnet, "The Freedom of the Mind." Let cowardly publishers take courage from this example of the Phinneys, Publishers, N. Y. I shall rejoice when an historical foot-note can be afforded to elucidate the text.

Amid the general chaos of astounding and guilty apathy, of blunted moral perception, and of ignorance as appalling as Egyptian darkness concerning Slavery, the sad and waiting Anti-Slavery heart is sometimes made to beat high with a joyful surprise at the sudden uplifting of the torch of truth by a pure hand. Last Sunday morning, we listened, with unspeakable gratitude and satisfaction, to a thrilling discourse from our Anti-Slavery friend, Dr. Jas. Catlin, in the Wesleyan Chapel of Sugar Grove, Pa. It was not only a masterly and unanswerable refutation of the malignant charges of our opponents, that the Abolitionists are Infidels, but a clear and solemn showing of the overwhelming and awful guilt of the American Church, and that infidelity and atheism lie at her own door. Would that as many pulpits as there are Sundays in the year might resound with that eloquent and impressive speech, till the year of Jubilee shall come in our land! C. F. P.

OLD SCHOOL COVENANTERS AGAIN.

MR. GARRISON;

I notice in THE LIBERATOR of March 19th and April 2d, articles, signed by L. and R., relative to the fact that the Old School Covenanter churches of New York city closed their doors against Anti-Slavery, as proposed to be uttered by AARON M. POWELL, OLIVER JOHNSON, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, and others. Having, myself, made the application for the use of the two Covenanter churches — Rev. Mr. Sloan's and Rev. Mr. Stevenson's—it may not be amiss for me to add a word upon the subject.

'thus the creed was exalted above humanity,' 'uncalled for'; and adds, 'There is *nothing* in the *Covenanter's creed* requiring any such act'; that the 'refusal was not by a vote of the congregations or churches, but only by a majority vote of the Ruling Elders'; that 'those few men, who did that base deed, acted not in accordance with a *creed*, but under the influence of a *prejudice* which outweighed their anti-slavery zeal.' Is not the same true with regard to all other churches in New York city and elsewhere, that shut their doors against anti-slavery? Does not the 'prejudice of the few ruling men' control the organized action of churches every where? And are not the '*few ruling elders*' chosen by the *male* members of the churches and congregations to act for them? Is it then 'unfair to charge this sin of the ruling elders upon the whole church'? Are not the more liberal, as well as the conservative members of the church, responsible for the deeds, both good and evil, done by their chosen representatives? As well might the law-abiding, voting members of this professedly Republican government, who, from year to year, sacredly pledge themselves to submit to the powers that be, though vested in Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, claim to be innocent of the terrible crimes perpetrated under the broad ægis of this blood-stained Union. Whether church doors are shut on account of the 'prejudice' of the 'few ruling men,' 'creed,' or downright pro-slaveryism, it is all the same to the crushed and bleeding millions on the Southern plantations, whose agonizing cry is borne on every breeze, 'Men and brethren, help!' And I heartily rejoice if there is good reason to believe that there are 'no other two Covenanter churches that would do the same thing,'—that would exalt *prejudice* above *humanity*.

Both the pastors expressed to me their willingness, Mr. Sloan his earnest desire, to have their churches opened; and both feared it would not be done, on account of the prevailing belief that 'the Bible forbids woman to speak in the public assemblies.'

I said to one of the pastors, Mr. Stevenson, 'In case your church is refused, and we hold meetings in some hall, will you read the notice from your pulpit?' Behold the answer! '*I cannot. I never give secular notices to my congregation on the Sabbath.* There are other means of advertising all such matters.' 'But,' said I, 'none by which all your people can get the notice of our meetings, and the knowledge of *your* approval of their object.' He had previously told me that his people were scattered over some eleven wards of the city, that they were very much and very wrongly prejudiced against what is termed 'Garrisonianism,' also, that he so seldom gave any but church notices, that were he to do so, nearly all of his congregation would be sure to attend; and yet, with all these concessions of power on his part, he refused to give the notice, simply because his only opportunity to do so was on the Sabbath-day.

Now, I submit, if, in this instance, 'Creed' was not 'exalted above humanity'? If 'Creed' did not prevent this pastor from speaking the word that should help 'to undo the heavy burden, and let the oppressed go free'? Herein, I ask, was not a *day* esteemed more sacred than a *man?*—held more sacred by this pastor than by Jesus himself? 'What man,' said he, 'shall there be among you, that shall have one sheep, and if it shall fall into a pit on the Sabbath-day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out? How much, then, is a man better than a sheep? Wherefore it is lawful to do well on the Sabbath-day.'

In justice to Mr. Sloan, I will say, I did not ask him to give the notice, and therefore cannot but hope that his answer would have been the performance of the action.

Thus the refusal of aid and coöperation from the Covenanters dashed to the ground our last and only hope to plead the slave's cause within the four walls of a New York city church,—snatched from us the bright exception Abolitionists had ever proudly made, that there was *one religious sect* which, with us, honored man more than any and all human institutions.

Yours, SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

Rochester, April 16. 1858.

THE THREE SHIPS.

1st. What ship has the most tyrannical officers and vassal crew? The 'SHIP OF STATE.'

2d. What ship has the most discord among its officers and crew, (often resulting in mutiny,) and has caused the most unhappiness in this 'wide, wide world'? 'WOR-SHIP.'

3d. What ship has the best and cheapest accommodations, the most harmony and happiness among those on board, and is freighted with the most valuable cargo? 'FRIEND-SHIP.'

CONDITIONS TO BE COMPLIED WITH BY THOSE WHO APPLY FOR PASSAGE.

In the 1st—Persons applying for passage must be able to furnish proof that they have 'NO CONSCIENCE.'

In the 2d— Persons applying for passage must give a pledge that they will never make any use of their 'REASON,' and that they will always oppose 'HUMAN PROGRESS.'

In the 3d—Those applying for passage will *only* be required to furnish proof that they have a 'HEART and a SOUL,' i. e., that they are 'MEN' and 'WOMEN.'

TIME TO APPLY FOR PASSAGE.

In the 1st—On days of 'political election.'

In the 2d—On 'Sundays.'

In the 3d—At *any time*, as the office is open *every day*, and at *all hours* of the day and night.

FARE.

In the 1st—Your 'Humanity'—*to be paid in advance.*

In the 2d—Your 'Intellect' and 'Reason'—*in advance.*

In the 3d—Those taking passage will be allowed to *retain* their 'manhood,' and will *only* be required to contribute, *as they may be able*, to the comfort and happiness of those on board, by mutual acts of kindness and courtesy.

Dear Reader! in which ship will you take passage? 'I speak as unto wise men and women.'

PROGRESS.

☞ A slave boy, eleven years of age, has been sentenced to death for burning the house of Col. Geo. A. Bayley, of Lewis county, Va.

MR. PARKER AND MR. GARRISON AT GROVELAND — THE HARMONICS.

ROBERT F. WALCUTT:

DEAR SIR,—The people of Groveland and vicinity have, of late, been indulged in some rich treats,—emphatically, feasts of reason, including the flow of soul, which I should be glad to see noticed through THE LIBERATOR. A quartette of fine singers, known as the Savory Harmonics, comprising three sons of Joseph Savory—August, Rollo and Harry—and Wm. A. Renton, gave an excellent Concert at the Independent Church on Fast evening, which was well attended, and whose beautiful tones of music reminded one more forcibly of the Hutchinsons in their palmiest days than any other club with which I am acquainted. It occurs to me that if the Harmonics might be made participants at the Anti-Slavery Anniversary in May, they would add much to the interest of that grand occasion.

On Tuesday of last week, Rev. Theodore Parker instructed the people in one of his able discourses upon the Bible, which invited the attention of a large and intelligent audience, and has been made the occasion of much criticism, commendatory, and, we suppose, otherwise. His text was, 'God is love,' and he found the manifestations of such a being in other sources than the prevailing church or religion. The Bible was not esteemed essentially a work of inspiration; portions of it were shown to represent God as variable, fickle, revengeful, &c., subject to the whims and caprices of the writers, nobody knew who they were. The Psalms were very beautifully criticised and commended, and the book of Job justly extolled.

On Saturday evening, Mr. Garrison lectured upon Peace, and one of the adverse opinions I have heard with regard to this address is, that it was too *egotistical!* 'Wherein?' inquired we of this censor. Why, in his comparison of George Washington with Jesus Christ; (1) his being too straight and perpendicular, and putting down *all* lying as sinful! Was not an argument like this a *poser?*

Sunday afternoon, Mr. Garrison enunciated his religious views in a very calm, lucid and forcible manner, to a large and attentive audience.

In the evening, the most searching tests were applied to the present revival of religion, which matter was listened to with the most profound attention. The parallel so finely and pertinently drawn between Theodore Parker, the reputed infidel, and South-side Adams, the self-constituted saint and 'revivalist,' was pungent and scathing. Well did Mr. Garrison brand him as a wolf, without even the sheep's clothing.

The Harmonics sang very grandly, on this occasion, Charley Mackay's 'Good Time Coming,' and one of the Hutchinson's songs, 'Behold the Day of Promise.'

HAVERHILL.

(1) Our comparison, in this case, was to this extent:—Washington was clannish in spirit, limited in sympathy, narrow in action, geographical in purpose, American in patriotism, and a slaveholder all his life long. Jesus, in spirit and aim, was universal, world-embracing, impartial in his love, laying down his life for mankind, 'as a lamb led to the slaughter,' and seeking to unite all men in glorious liberty and equality as one brotherhood. Hence his incomparable superiority.—*Ed. Lib.*

From the New York Independent.

THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION FOR THE SLAVE AND ITS INCREASE.

BY REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

There is a text concerning our *stewardship*, which we should do well to ponder as a nation, in regard to our *liberties*. 'If ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own?' The cruelty of fraud and oppression may seem confined to the subjects of it, and for a while the oppressing nation may seem prosperous and secure; but at length the appointed hour and execution of vengeance comes, and God pays the nation in its own coin, and chooses its delusions, and compels it to drink to the dregs the cup of slavery it has ministered to others. Because ye trust in oppression, therefore this iniquity shall be your ruin. Because ye have not proclaimed liberty to others, your own liberties shall be taken from yourselves, and your own hands shall destroy them.

It is a fearful thing to witness the unmingled and absorbing selfishness so unconsciously displayed in the present professed conflict for freedom. It is no longer a conflict against enslaving others, a battle in behalf of an oppressed and injured race, to restore to them the rights and blessings so long withheld from them, to deliver them from bondage, but it is mere self-defence against being included with them under the endurance of a similar injustice. The battle which men have *refused* to fight for their neighbors, they are *compelled* to fight for themselves.

But the deliberate renunciation of all obligation of justice or mercy to the enslaved, the forgetfulness and disregard of principle toward God and benevolence toward man, and the degradation of the warfare to a mere strife of political superiority between the slave States and the free, or between slave labor and free, are indications ominous of evil. We have some reason to fear lest all the apparent progress toward a national anti-slavery sentiment and firmness may turn out to be sheer selfishness, and that the question of the actual abolition of slavery, the emancipation of the slaves, may be farther off than ever, our whole virtue and patriotism being active and brave only for ourselves, and not for others; only for the whites, and not the blacks.

The thing against which a majority in the House of Representatives have been stiffened and propped up to a transitory display of steadfastness, was not the monstrous iniquity of forcing the slavery of black persons upon a State, but that of forcing a *constitution* upon the State, *without consent of the white people.* The inhumanity and immorality of *slavery* itself, and injustice and wickedness of enslaving *the blacks*, would not have provoked a conflict. On the naked principle of opposition against slavery, or against enslaving the blacks, a majority could not have been rallied.

Yet that iniquity, and its perpetual security and increase, made up the great thing that rendered the proposed Constitution, apart from its Border Ruffian origin and authority, infamous; and the sanction of that iniquity by the Constitution was just the quality coveted; without which, none would have dreamed of enforcing it. That atrocious article and element of slavery, that insurance of its being fastened for ever upon *the blacks*, made up the prize, for the sake of which the supporters of slavery were willing to enact a constitutional despotism over *the whites.* For the sake of eternal, undisturbed property in black men, they were ready to force a constitution upon white men, ready to violate and sacrifice the constitutional, fundamental principles of our own liberty, ready to convert the Government of the United States itself into a tyranny, ready to forbid and destroy the element of popular representative freedom, and to bind down a State under a government, which the people not only have not chosen, but have rejected and denounced; a government which was a usurpation from the beginning, the miscreation of wholesale fraud, enforced by villainy and violence; a government founded on a violation of the ballot, in the gross manufacture of illegal votes, and establishing in its constitution a more diabolical article of cruelty and injustice, than ever was incorporated or ventured upon in any the most despotic constitution on earth.

Now the vital and most detestable iniquity in this complicated and accumulated monstrosity of wrongs, this series of iniquities and oppressions upcoiling and inveterately convolved, is not the thing that has provoked and steadied the unexpected opposition. This show of bravery has not the honor of a conscientious conflict against sin, against injustice. The principle of inhumanity and avarice, for the sanction, establishment, and perpetuity of which the whole usurpation was undertaken, and every successive invasion and outrage perpetrated, has not been the element resisted and abhorred, but merely *the manner of enforcing it;* not the iniquity itself, but just only the compulsion of it on the State, *without consultation of the people.* In proposing and compelling the adoption of such a system, the thing that has excited all this indignation, wrath, opposition, both in the Senate and House of Representatives, is not at all the making slaves of human beings without *their own* consent, but the doing of it without consent *of the people*, without popular sovereignty.

If popular sovereignty ordered it, it was all right. It was the making men *slaveholders* against their will, not the making of *other* men *slaves*, that roused all this ire, and evoked all this patriotism. The making merchandize of black men is not the thing opposed, but the making of white men, against their will, the merchants of such merchandize.

But the *enforcement* of a constitution upon men *in that thing*, and for the sake of that, involves the *principle* of a tyranny over them *in everything*, and *therefore* they oppose it in *this* thing, and become temporary and half-way Abolitionists, not out of regard to the rights and interests of others, not out of a jealous and benevolent care for others' freedom, but their own. They demand their own, but relinquish that which is another man's.

The central iniquity in this scheme, at which the old prophets would have called upon the heavens to be astonished, and the earth to be afraid with horrible amazement, is the deliberate establishment of slavery, in the most heaven-defying and infamous terms. The right of property in human beings is distinctly affirmed in the Constitution proposed to be enforced, as before and higher than any constitutional sanction. The right of property *in* man is in fact asumed as one of the rights *of* man; and it is declared that 'the right of any owner of a slave to such a slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of any owner of any property whatsoever.' Had the terms of this proposition been purposely studied to obtain as insulting and daring a mode of affirming the perpetual and inviolable right of slavery as language could contrive, obviously, no more definite and compact sign could be hit upon, than the use of the impersonal pronoun ITS, in reference to the human chattel, THE SLAVE AND ITS INCREASE.

And this is the central article, on which the whole Constitution hangs; the establishment and perpetuity of slavery, by this article, is the final object of the Constitution, and of all the usurpation, crime, and ruffianism requisite for its adoption. How, then, could any man, with any living conscience toward God and man, with any commanding sense of right and wrong whatever, give consent, even for an instant, to such an execrable proposition? How could any man vote to propose so deliberate an infamy, so glaring an insult against God and man, to any people, as possibly admitting the voluntary assumption, as being the possible subject of a righteous popular choice, and to be sanctioned, adopted, and made the supreme law of the State, from generation to generation, if the people please?

And yet, neither that infamy and crime, centralized in the Constitution, nor that infamous proposition submitting it to the people, as a thing of rightful popular choice and sovereignty, (the sovereign right in the highest manner to sin against God and man,) constitutes the difficulty. The party does not revolt at slavery, even in the naked, hideous deformity of the doctrine of human chattelism stereotyped as the theory of political perfection, and made eternal and accumulating by the form of the constitutional guarantee, THE SLAVE AND ITS INCREASE. *That* is not the trouble, *that* does not rouse the conscience, there is no remonstrance against *that*, no voice lifted for humanity, or the Word of God; no defence of human nature or divine justice and righteousness, against such an atrocity! It is not the establishment of slavery that troubles the conscience and stirs up the wrath, but its establishment *against the popular vote or without it*, the saddling of the system upon the people *against their will.* Not the inhumanity and sinfulness of the system are objected to; not the adoption of an infinite moral wrong into the Government, as its central principle; not the perpetual hereditary enslavement of a race of outcast and down-trodden human beings; not, in a word, the legalized existence and perpetuity of slavery, but the being denied an opportunity to vote in regard to it; not the fraud and violence against God and man in the establishment of slavery itself, but the fraud against popular sovereignty in having the system chosen and appointed for the people, instead of being permitted to choose it or reject it for themselves, is the great crime, and the insurmountable exasperation!

But Senator Crittenden's amendment makes all right, *by submitting it to the people whether they will choose to enslave others;* the perfect *right* to enslave, *if the people choose*, not being questioned or controverted! Nay, by such a submission, as being the rectification and cure of the whole mischief, it is admitted that the right to enslave is an elementary, native, intrinsic right of popular sovereignty, one of the rights of man, rightfully to be enshrined in the people's bill of rights, and in the State Constitution, *if the people please.* The poor creature to be enslaved, the poor miserable chattels of this popular sovereignty, comprehended in the damning clause of THE SLAVE AND ITS INCREASE, have no rights to be respected, no will to be consulted, no choice permitted in the matter. The Constitution is not to be submitted to *them*, for *their* vote, though they are the persons most of all concerned in it; there is no concern about *them*, there are no qualms of conscience about such a wanton and eternal sacrifice of *their* rights, but the rights of the popular sovereignty to make such a sacrifice is unquestionable, is inviolable.

If Senator Crittenden's amendment admitting the question of such a sacrifice, such an establishment of slavery, to the people at large in their popular sovereignty, had been a proposition or requisition to submit the question of slavery to the vote and choice *of the persons proposed to be enslaved*, 'THE SLAVE AND ITS INCREASE,' then indeed there had been some shadow of right and justice; though indeed it could never be right to submit a poor human being to the possibility, under a free constitution, of chosing to be a slave. But *such* an amendment would have been received with volcanic explosions of anger, as a work of the most destructive fanaticism, or with shouts and hootings of derision, as the drivellings of a man insane. The whole party can vote to submit the question of enslaving others, as a rightful, unquestioned privilege of humanity, to the generous popular sovereignty, for its decision; but the question of the choice of being enslaved or not, the possibility of presenting *that* question for decision *to the very beings whom it is proposed to doom to such bondage*, is not to be entertained in the councils of a free State, a sovereign people.

Indeed, such a proposition would be an interference with, and a mortal insult against the popular sovereignty of republican States, as intimating the possibility of denying that it belongs, as a thing of unquestionable right, to the popular sovereignty, to choose, to establish, and secure perpetual slavery, if the said popular sovereignty pleases. And now the conflict for freedom in this country is fast dwindling down to the protection and defence of this asserted popular right. And the only pretended superiority of the free States over the slave, the only right they pray may not be taken from them, is the privilege of determining for themselves whether they will have slavery or not. A most grand and dignified position, a most noble and exalted patriotism!

* * * * *

This doctrine, and the proposition to carry it into practice, the proposition to make it the supreme rule in the Constitution of a free State, to lay it as the foundation-stone in a new sovereign free popular government, the proposition to enforce it, without consulting any man as to his consent to be a slave, meets very little opposition, creates no revolution, no exasperation either of conscience or of party. But the proposition to assume and enforce this right of slavery, this sacrifice of the human rights of others, this privilege of oppression, *without consulting the popular sovereignty*, the proposition to take it out of the hands of the people, and establish it among them *without their having voted upon it*, almost explodes a volcano, almost breaks up a party, almost unsettles an administration, deluges the country with floods of popular eloquence and indignation, occupies the Senate and House of Representatives for nearly six months in the manufacture of speeches, and keeps the whole country in a heat and tumult of pure disinterested patriotism!

On the whole, this has been one of the most extraordinary scenes of human debate and legislation ever witnessed. Was ever such deliberate debauchery of principle so coolly and methodically planned, such shameless selfishness avowed, in the grasp of power, and the disregard of right, in the claim of popular sovereignty rightfully to do wrong, in the claim of the right to trample on the interests of others, if only you are admitted to a share, a voice, a vote, in the infamous transaction? The claim of the right to fight against slavery, anywhere, and everywhere under the sun, *as a sin*, the declaration of its injustice and iniquity as a crime against God and man, *which cannot rightfully be legalized*, is renounced; and the only privilege defended, the only right of freedom insisted on, is the privilege and right of popular sovereignty, by itself, to determine the establishment and perpetuity of that crime!

Grant but the iniquity as the choice, the inalienable privilege, of the popular sovereignty, and all the noble cravings of patriotism are satisfied; the most conscientious political party is as thoroughly *sopped* as ever were the dogs of Charon, and you may use the political ferry-boat without disturbance, for any work you please, for the transfer of any vileness, for dead men's bones and all uncleanness. Grant but the popular sovereignty to establish slavery, only submit it to the votes of white men as their right, and the vital central principle of our free institutions is saved, and the republican party itself will boast their firmness, their heroism, in saving it, their going without sleep, their wonderful resistance of bribery, their impossibility to be bought. Noble, exalted spirits! Well do ye deserve a name, a shrine, a glory, above that of the heroes of Thermopylæ or Marathon! Well have ye stood in the breach, and at the fearful cost of having your names slaughtered from the lists of Presidential patronage, cut off from the possibilities of fat consulships, custom-house offices, patents for pocketing the spoils of war, have defended and carried the sacred right of the people in their popular sovereignty to vote for the establishment and perpetuity of slavery, and to have it all to themselves, uninterfered with, and inviolable, of God or man! O glorious victory! O celestial compromise! O rare sagacity, self-denial, and steadfastness, that could generously ignore the rights of the enslaved, and sacrifice all principle and conscience in regard to slavery, for the sake of keeping the right to it and the power over it unconquered and inviolable, in the citadel and ballot-box of popular sovereignty! The result of all this patriotic firmness, all these attempted compromises and amendments, is what is called the English swindle, a legalized State bribery, and a victory of the slave power, as truly and purely American as the repudiation of State debts.

Now if ever a lesson could be taught by such demonstrations, it is this, that there is no hope in politics for the abolition of slavery, none for freedom to the enslaved, no reliance upon party, no hope but in the Word of God. Here has been presented, in the proposed enforcement of the Lecompton Constitution, the case in which hatred of slavery alone ought to have won the victory; but along with the iniquity and hatefulness of slavery, there was also the invasion of popular freedom, a glaring, gross, defiant usurpation, and the denial of representative and popular sovereignty. The professed advocates of freedom have consented to ignore the sinfulness of slavery, its eternal incompatibility with free institutions, and just government, and their conscientious hostility against it, and to throw their whole battle, their whole strength and wisdom in the conflict, into the assertion and defence of popular sovereignty. It is a fatal renunciation of the defence of justice and humanity, the defence of the oppressed.

And even out of the occurrence of all the grandest materials and motives for courage and firmness, with the opportunity, expectation, and previous boast of victory, you have nothing, in such a career, but defeat, disgrace, infamy. It is just simply because, after all, the conflict is of pure selfishness, and God deserts you in it. You are not faithful in that which is another man's, and God will not give you that which is your own. You deny that you are your brother's keeper, and God will yet have to set a mark upon you, lest any man should kill you. Such a party is worthless, is good for nothing but to go up and down vagabondizing and managing for its daily political bread and breath. There is no hope for any political party out of God's Word, for the poor slave. There is wanting the element of conscientious, stubborn, heartfelt, eternal hostility against slavery as sin, as reprobated and forbidden of God, in the same catalogue with piracy, man-stealing, and guilt worthy of death. Where shall such an element be found? How shall it be created, quickened, trained?

THE NEW SWINDLE.

The Congressional committee of conference on the disagreement between the two houses, on Kansas matters, have reported a new proposition which received the approval of four of the committee.

Mr. English's proposition is to give Kansas certain lands, and the benefits accruing therefrom, provided they will cease further objection to the Lecompton Constitution. If they accept this land provision, then the President, on information of the result, is to make an announcement of the same by proclamation, and without any further proceedings on the part of Congress, the admission of the State of Kansas into the Union shall be complete and absolute. If the proposition should be rejected, it shall be deemed that the people of Kansas do not desire admission into the Union with the Lecompton Constitution, and they cannot be admitted until they have the population equal to that required for a member of the United States House of Representatives. There are other particulars connected with the new bill which it is not requisite to give; this, however, is the main feature, and upon this the whole thing rests.

Mr. English makes this the principal point in his speech. Now we can regard this scheme in no other aspect than a swindle. It is a perfect system of trickery. It is a bribe to Kansas. It virtually says to her people, you may have so much land, and be admitted at once into the Union, if you will say nothing about Lecompton. If, on the contrary, you will continue to agitate that matter, and spurn that Constitution, then you shall have nothing, and cannot come in as a State at present. If Kansas will come in as a slave State, she may have land; if she prefers to be a free State, then she shall have no land, and must wait admission till her population is 93,000, or 100,000, just as the ratio of representation may be. This is the scheme, and we say it is base and despicable. It is dishonorable to Congress to offer it, and if it should prevail, it will show a degree of moral perfidy on the part of that body, of which we trust they are free.

The scheme is objectionable in many respects, but this particularly. It proposes to admit Kansas as a slave State now, if she will accept Lecompton and the land, but if she will not, then she must remain a territory till she has a certain amount of population. Now, if she has a sufficient amount of population for her admission as a slave State, why has she not as a free State? What makes the difference? Other States have come into the Union with a less population than that prescribed by Congress, and why not Kansas? Had the principle been adhered to in former cases, we would not ask that it should be departed from now. But it has not, and why urge it now? It has been well said by an exchange: 'There is no reason for applying this principle to Kansas *after* voting upon Lecompton, which is not equally valid *before*. There is no reason why she should be admitted without the required population under that Constitution more than under any other. If permitted to do so in one case, she should be in the other also. There is no room to doubt that the real object and motive of this provision is to coerce the people of Kansas into adopting the Lecompton Constitution; and this motive is flagitious, corrupt, and personally as well as politically discreditable to the authors of the scheme.'—*American Sentinel.*

From the Boston Journal.

THE QUACK AND HIS PATIENT.

The following fragment of an unpublished drama was picked up near the Custom House. Its authorship is attributed to an officer of the customs whose lips are sealed by the fear of removal, and who, it is conjectured, has in this 'round about' way expressed his private opinion of the Kansas controversy:—

(Persons represented—Dr. Buchanan, a physician of the Sangrado school; Dr. Douglas, a smart young practitioner; Master Kansas, a lad whose constitution has been seriously deranged by the treatment of the quack.)

Dr. Buchanan (with a severity intended to inspire awe)—My boy, here is another dose of medicine. I know it is nauseous, and am well aware that when I assumed the charge of your case, I promised that you should not be compelled to take unpleasant medicines. But circumstances alter cases. You must take this medicine, so that I can pocket my fee. It is the last dose I shall give you—[aside—it will dispose of his case, without doubt.] You can then throw it off, and take something else, or do what you please, if it does not cure you. Come, hold your breath, and down with it.

Mr. Douglas—But, Dr. Buchanan, this medicine is not adapted to the boy's disease. It is not compounded according to the forms prescribed in the books, and besides being nauseous, will but aggravate existing difficulties. Nature will rebel at such treatment.

Dr. Buchanan (indignantly)—How dare you, sir, presume upon old acquaintance and friendship to interfere with my patient? True, the case is a delicate one, and I have called you in to consult with me, but it was merely as a matter of form. Like my 'illustrious predecessor,' whose mantle I wear, 'I take the responsibility.'

Dr. Douglas—And I protest. The medicine is not suited to his case. The lad wants air and exercise, not physic. He is a fine, spirited youth, and if you persist in forcing this compound upon him, he may suffer from its effects during his natural life. He is justified in resisting.

Dr. Buchanan—(very red in the face, and with difficulty maintaining a show of dignity)—Sir, your conduct is insufferable. I shall take the earliest opportunity to lay the facts before the Medical Society with which we are connected, and I do not doubt that my influence as President will secure your expulsion. You may consider yourself expelled.

Dr. Douglas—As you please, sir. But perhaps your influence with the society may not be so powerful as you imagine. We shall see. (*Exit.*)

Dr. Buchanan—Now, boy, I am not to be trifled with. Take this medicine. (*Approaches with the potion.*)

Master Kansas—No! No! No! (*Resists violently, plucks off Buchanan's wig, kicks his shins, oversets his medicine and forces him to retreat, utterly discomfited.*

SCENE TWO.

(*Master Kansas meditating how he shall escape from the nursery. Enter Dr. Buchanan, who has somewhat recovered from his confusion.*)

Dr. Buchanan—(assuming an air of patronizing benignity)—My dear Master Kansas, you have behaved very naughtily, but have only confirmed the bad opinion of you which I had previously entertained. I am acting entirely for your good. I know you want to escape from your confinement, but you cannot do so until your doctor is dismissed. Now, my dear, I have prepared another dose of medicine for you. As I said before, it will be the last which I shall require you to take. I do not wish to deceive you, and will acknowledge that it is just like the last dose which you so wickedly spilt. But, (*with a sardonic smile,*) if you will take the medicine, you shall go out into the bright sunshine, and here is a stick of candy to sweeten the dose. If you do not take it, you young rascal, you shall stay here until you repent your contumacy.

Master Kansas—I won't take it. It will make me more sick, and I may as well stay here, as to have my freedom without being able to enjoy it.

Dr. Douglas (who has entered during the colloquy)—The boy is right. The medicine is the same, and it will not the less ruin his constitution because it is sweetened with candy. Give the boy light and air.

Dr. Buchanan (intensely agitated)—How dare you, sir, again interfere with my patient? The medicine he shall take. I will give him a few hours for reflection, and he knows the alternative if he continues to refuse. (*Exit.*)

Dr. Douglas (to Master Kansas)—Poor fellow, keep up your spirits. I will do what I can for you, and we may yet circumvent the old quack. (*Exeunt omnes.*)

REMOVE THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

From the Boston Bee.

To the Remonstrants against the Pro-Slavery Position of the American Tract Society.

DEAR BRETHREN—The question now before you is, What is to be done?

Since the Executive of the Tract Society are now acting in direct opposition to your wishes, and since even a meeting called by them would be called, and managed, with the purpose of accomplishing your defeat, it is plain that some unofficial individual must begin the work of suggestion of a proper course to be pursued. Since this rallying call has not come from the quarter to which we all looked for it, and since much precious time has already been lost by delay, I will mention those things which seem to me indispensable towards success, on your part, in causing the Society to fulfil its constitutional obligation 'to promote the interests of vital godliness and sound morality' by publishing tracts upon slaveholding, as upon other sins.

It seems to me that your efforts should be directed to three points:

I. To the removal of the unfaithful official servants of the Society.

II. To the election of trustworthy, and otherwise competent, persons in their place.

III. To the adoption of a distinct, *unequivocal*, UNAMBIGUOUS expression of the will of the Society, directing that tracts shall be published against slaveholding, forthwith, and as long as slavery shall last.

I. As to the first point, a very little reflection will show that there is the same reason for removing *every individual* on the present executive board of the Society as for removing any one of them.

In past years, they have been *unanimous* in favoring slavery by a systematical silence. When your complaints began, they were unanimous in ignoring and disregarding them. When you blamed their expurgation of expressions opposed to slavery, they were unanimous in denying the charge. When you proved it true, with specifications that could no longer be denied, they were unanimous in trying to evade it. When the new rule was adopted, in May last, which (you said) required them to publish tracts on slavery, they were unanimous in asserting that it required no such thing. When you insisted on the point, and reaffirmed their duty to publish such tracts, they unanimously joined in taking the responsibility of refusing to publish them; and this ground they still hold.

Is it not plain that to leave a single individual of this Board associated with such trustworthy persons as you may now choose to transact the affairs of the Society, would be to secure divided counsels, obstruction, delay, and perhaps defeat? Is it not plain that your success in the future depends upon attaining as much unanimity and decision in the right direction as has hitherto prevailed in the wrong? It would not only be disastrous to the desired reform, but unjust to any persons whom you may choose to administer it, to associate them with persons opposed, or even with persons not heartily and actively favorable to its success.

Common circumspection and foresight, then, require the removal of every individual of the contumacious board which has so long misused the funds and limited the usefulness of the Society, as far as slavery is concerned, and thus brought reproach upon the religion which it assumes to represent.

II. The selections of persons trustworthy, and otherwise competent, to hold and administer these offices, *and who will consent, if elected, to accept this trust, and forthwith to enter upon the administration of it*, is a matter of the utmost consequence, and likely to require all the time between now and the annual meeting for its adequate and best fulfilment. To say, as the *Independent* does, 'It is *easy* to name gentlemen equally competent, who could be relied upon to carry out the will of the Society,' is a specimen of that self-confident spirit which is apt to precede defeat. You want persons *more* competent than the present incumbents. You want, for offices so important, the highest ability, combined with the highest integrity. And whoever thinks it easy to find twenty-four *such* persons, who will, at a moment's notice, take the entire charge of a business, the inherent responsibility and difficulty of which are at present enhanced by complication with a bitter and intensely exciting controversy, sure to increase in bitterness and excitement instead of diminishing—still more—whoever thinks this *so* easy that the needful inquiries and arrangements can be safely postponed, month after month, while the opposite party hold possession, and are maturing their plans to keep it—seems to me quite too like the person who, eleven months ago, praised the 'wisdom,' the 'fidelity,' and the 'honesty' of the delinquent Executive Committee, to afford much hope of success under his management now.

III. Simultaneously with the election of an honest and faithful, as well as otherwise competent Executive Committee, known to be disposed to act with one heart and one mind in accomplishing your projected reform, and also known to be ready to enter at once upon the administration of it, you have another important duty, the thorough discharge of which you owe alike to yourselves, to your newly appointed servants, to the lovers of a pure Gospel who are watching for the reformation of the Tract Society, to the slaveholder who is hoping still to be sustained by it in his sins, to the slave who waits until its foot be taken off his neck, and to God, who requires your faithfulness in this hour of temptation.

This duty is the adoption of a distinct, *unequivocal*, UNAMBIGUOUS rule of the Society, directing the Publishing Committee to issue tracts against slaveholding forthwith, and to continue and add to them as long as slavery shall last in the United States.

Instead of the long, involved, indirect, equivocal and ambiguous rule in regard to publication on slavery, reported by the Investigation Committee, and unwisely accepted by your representatives—evidently the result of a compromise, in which the party of right agreed to meet the party of wrong half way—a rule *so* ambiguous that, as soon as it was published, there arose in the community three different theories in regard to its *intended meaning*, as diverse from each other as the three points of an equilateral triangle—I propose for your adoption the following:—

'In regard to that custom of slaveholding which has brought upon our country such reproach abroad and such manifold evil at home, it shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee forthwith to adopt or prepare, as soon as possible to publish, and to circulate as long as the custom shall last, tracts declaring its sinfulness, exposing the corruption it has wrought in the Church, the State, the community and the family, and enjoining its immediate and unconditional abandonment.'

In the hope that you will speedily call a meeting of the remonstrants resident in New England, and appoint a Committee to make prompt and thorough preparation in regard to the matters above suggested, and report either at a subsequent meeting or through the daily press, so that those who desire reform may effectually co-operate with each other, both before and at the approaching annual meeting, I subscribe myself

Your friend and servant for the truth,
C. K. W.

REASONS FOR CHANGING THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

It is our own deliberate conviction that the present Publishing Committee should be removed, and that they must be superseded before the intention of the Society in last year's vote can be fulfilled. We cast no reflection upon the integrity, the conscientiousness, or the personal character of the gentlemen of that Committee; but, however learned, upright, and estimable they may be as men, there are three sufficient reasons for their removal from this official position.

1. They have proved unequal to a great crisis which the Providence of God had brought upon them. By temporizing, they have lost the opportunity of doing a great good to the whole country.

2. Whether designedly or undesignedly, they have defeated, by inaction and by misdirection, the expressed will of the Society.

3. They have marked out a course which forever binds the Tract Society to silence upon the crime of buying and selling the muscle and active powers of a man, the beauty and chastity of a woman, the budding promise of childhood, so long as any man who commits such a crime, and calls himself an evangelical Christian, shall object to its being referred to in any of the Society's publications. This is the doctrine of their Minute. As Dr. Cheever has forcibly said, their motto is, '*Only buy our tracts, and you can have your choice of sins.*'

We are confident that men who, in a place of high and sacred trust, have committed three such grave errors, can never again enjoy the confidence of the Christian public in that office. They may be re-*elected*, to be sure; it is very easy for their personal friends to arrange for that; but they cannot be re-*instated* in that moral prestige which they have lost by their practical blunders and their disastrous policy.

The moral defeat of the Publishing Committee, already certain from the inherent weakness of their cause, and the fallacy of their own argument, is made doubly sure by an estimate of the forces on the other side. These are—

(1.) The open, decided, unanimous declaration of the Society at its last anniversary, that it *can and ought to* publish the testimony of the Gospel against the moral evils and vices of slavery. That the Society will not be brought to vote that black is white, and white is black, is morally certain. That if it should retract the testimony of last year, it would defeat and destroy itself, is equally certain.

(2.) Many gentlemen of high standing and influence in different denominations, will be present at the anniversary to oppose the policy of the Committee. Some will oppose it from a fixed conviction that the principles laid down last year are the only sound and safe principles for the Society. Others still, from a just regard for the independence of the Society, which is threatened by the assumption of the Committee. The number and character of the forces already arrayed against their policy, insure the defeat of the Committee in argument, if not by vote.

(3.) The moral sentiment of the community is strongly against the compromising policy of the Publishing Committee. An awakened conscience will refuse to accept pleas for silence in the presence of iniquity. Those who advocate a temporizing, non-committal policy toward what all men *know* to be a stupendous iniquity, will find it impossible to stand before the indignant moral sense of 'all evangelical Christians.' Mr. Buchanan's last proposal for humbling the country to the slave power came before Congress at the very time when the Minute of the Publishing Committee, proposing to humble our Christianity to the same power, was laid before the public. The two stand fitly side by side. Whatever the numerical vote upon either scheme, truth and right are sure to obtain a moral victory over both.—*New York Independent.*

A SIGNIFICANT DISCLAIMER.

The astonishment so generally expressed at the doctrines avowed in a pamphlet by the Rev. Seth Bliss, respecting the American Tract Society, has called forth the following:

A CARD. 'Letters to the Members of the American Tract Society, on the Tract Controversy, by the Boston Secretary,' having been widely circulated, and copies having been sent in packages from the Tract House in Boston, the undersigned, who are members of the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society having its seat in Boston, deem it proper to state that this committee have no agency in the publication or circulation of these letters, and are in no way responsible for the views they contain. John Tappan, Henry Hill, William Ropes, Baron Stow, E. N. Kirk, Charles D. Gould, E. S. Rand.

Boston, April 23, 1858.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, MAY 7, 1858.

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE American Anti-Slavery Society.

The Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in MOZART HALL, No. 668 Broadway, (above Bleecker street,) on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY, May 11th and 12th: commencing, as usual, at 10 o'clock, A. M., on the first day, and closing in the afternoon of the last.

At no time within the quarter of a century in which this Society, as the representative of the American slave, has pressed upon the consciences of the people the duty of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION, have the obligations resting upon its friends been more imperative, or the incitements to fidelity on their part greater than at the present hour; and never was it more important that they should come together, in large numbers, from every part of the land, to confer with one another upon the state of the cause, and, by an interchange of thought and sympathy, prepare for new labors and conflicts in its behalf.

The object of the Society is not *merely* to make 'Liberty national and Slavery sectional'—nor to prevent the acquisition of Cuba—nor to restore the Missouri Compromise—nor to repeal the Fugitive Slave bill—nor to make Kansas a free State—nor to resist the admission of any new slave State into the Union—nor to terminate slavery in the District of Columbia and in the National Territories—but it is, primarily, comprehensively, and uncompromisingly, to effect the immediate, total and eternal overthrow of Slavery, wherever it exists on American soil, and to expose and confront whatever party or sect seeks to purchase peace or success at the expense of human liberty. Living or dying, our motto is, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, RELIGIOUSLY OR POLITICALLY!'

The following are among those expected to take part in the proceedings:—

Tuesday morning—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Frances Ellen Watkins, Charles Lenox Remond, Wendell Phillips.

Tuesday, P. M.—Business meeting of members of the Society.

Tuesday evening—Rev. Theodore Parker, and others.

Wednesday, A. M.—Rev. William H. Furness, William Wells Brown, Parker Pillsbury, and others.

Wednesday, P. M.—J. Miller M'Kim, Rev. N. R. Johnston, Wendell Phillips, and others.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

S. H. GAY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, } *Secretaries.*

POSITION OF THE CHURCH TO SLAVERY. WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

In our last number, we made some criticisms upon a sermon preached at the Tremont Temple, in this city, on the 25th ult., by Rev. Thomas D. Worrall, reviewing the two sermons of Rev. Theodore Parker on Revivals. We add, below, some additional comments upon this unreliable discourse.

In reply to the assertion of Mr. Parker, that the most extended revival of American religion will put no restraint upon the political corruption of the land, with great confidence Mr. Worrall asks—'Is it not known that ministers preach faithfully against political corruption?' How many such, as compared with the whole body? Where are their testimonies to be found? But, says Mr. W.—'Has not all this hue-and-cry against 'political preaching' resulted from the determination of Orthodox ministers to rebuke this high-handed political corruption?' It has resulted from a small portion of the whole number in the country,—*following in the wake of a changing public sentiment at the North, especially in New England,*—venturing to remonstrate against the perfidious repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the ruthless invasion of Kansas by Southern bandits, countenanced and protected by the general government. Of the three thousand clergymen in New England who united to make this remonstrance, (and they were not all Orthodox, for the great body of Unitarian and Universalist clergymen were included in the number,)—a remonstrance not in favor of the black man, but of the white man, not against the existence of slavery, but only against violence and outrage to white settlers on free territory,—how many have since been heard from, even in regard to 'bleeding Kansas'? It would be curious and instructive to analyze the whole list, and see what their course has been since that time. One thing is certain—an attempt was made by Prof. Stowe and others to make some kind of organized, persistent effort to resist the further extension of slavery, but it proved a dead failure. They broke, and crumbled, like a rope of sand. The mass of them (scared at the outcries raised by the venal Democratic presses, and alarmed lest they should bring division into the churches) slunk from the conflict, and have been silent ever since. The 'political preachers' who have excited the ire of the presses alluded to, have not been a baker's dozen in number—nor all Orthodox. Theodore Parker, William H. Furness, Samuel J. May, (Unitarian,)—Henry Ward Beecher, George B. Cheever, Leonard Bacon, (Orthodox,)—the lamented Dudley A. Tyng, (Episcopalian,) and a few others, have been publicly subjected to this kind of assault; but of the great majority of clergymen, there has been found no cause for party or pro-slavery clamor.

The relation of the Church to slavery is thus deceptively stated by Mr. Worrall:—

'The third point is the question of slavery; and as it is not my desire to defend or apologize for wicked men at all, I will acknowledge that there are a few men so ignorant of the first principles of the religion of Christ, that they make apologies for the sin of human slavery. But is it right to charge this sin upon the whole Church? If I should hunt a fox, and chase him into a noble tree, must I hold that tree chargeable with the fox's crimes, cut it down, and burn it root and branch? And if I find within the Church the advocates of an evil system, shall I light the torch of my unhallowed zeal, and burn that Church, or, what is worse, defame it?'

No thievish reynard, however closely pursued by his enemies, ever made so sly a dodge as this. If the case stood as represented by Mr. Worrall in his illustration, then his reasoning would be conclusive, and the folly of the abolitionists would be conspicuous from root to tree-top; but it is exactly the reverse of this. What! only 'a few men' in the Church 'so ignorant of the first principles of the religion of Christ, that they make apologies for the sin of human slavery'! Now, the truth is, even at this hour, after twenty-five years of unremitted anti-slavery labor with the American Church, an overwhelming proportion of its members is still disposed, not merely to 'apologize for the sin of slavery,' but to deny that holding slaves is necessarily a sin at all. What 'the whole Church' sanctions or connives at, 'the whole Church' must be held accountable for; and from the adoption of the U. S. Constitution till now, there has been no compromise or compact made with the Slave Power which has not been ratified by the Church as such. This is notorious, undeniable history. Every branch of the American Church (in the comprehensive, all-embracing meaning of that term) has been thoroughly probed and tested on this subject; and the facts are as well known to every intelligent person, in regard to its actual pro-slavery position, as the existence of slavery itself. Catholic, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational Orthodox, Baptist, Methodist, with nearly every subordinate sect or division, all are stained with the blood of those in bondage, all give the right hand of Christian fellowship to the oppressor, all are arrayed against uncompromising abolitionism, and all desire to suppress an agitation which they brand as fanatical and pernicious. For demonstrative proof of this, see the pamphlet, by the late James G. Birney, Esq., entitled 'The American Church the Bulwark of American Slavery,'—'The Brotherhood of Thieves,' by Stephen S. Foster,—and 'The Church as it is,' by Parker Pillsbury,—together with a host of other publications, and the files of every anti-slavery newspaper in the land. Look at the pro-slavery position of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Tract Society, the American Bible Society, the Home Missionary Society, the American Sunday School Union, and every other leading religious association. See how few religious bodies exclude slaveholders from membership or communion. Is all this simply the relation of a tree to a fox that has taken temporary refuge from his pursuers among its branches?

The difference between the Church and the anti-slavery organization, respecting the abolition of slavery, Mr. Worrall represents to be that which exists between 'a steady, solid team, engaged in drawing a heavy load of stone to the top of a hill,' and 'a fitful young colt, jerking and jumping' to reach the top at a bound! 'Here is the great difference between the parties: the ministers prefer to drag the load with them, while others kick and run without it.' This would be ludicrous, were it not for its extraordinary assurance.

Mr. Worrall is full of misrepresentation and claptrap, or else he is singularly deficient in mental perception. All his illustrations are false, and consequently worthless. Here is another specimen:—

'When the battle between Freedom and Slavery was waged in Great Britain, who were the representatives of Freedom but the Orthodox Christians of that Empire?—Granville Sharpe, William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, William Knibb, and a host of such men. It is too late to say that the spread of Orthodox Christianity would not advance the cause of the poor Africans. Could I have stood on the platform of Music Hall when Mr. Parker said that a revival of Orthodox Christianity would not tend to remove the curse of slavery, I would have called up the spirits of the good and great of past generations—I would have called up the spirit of William Knibb, who, while on earth, after suffering imprisonment, and almost every kind of cruelty, at last, in the midst of ten thousand of the disenthralled sons and daughters of Africa, buried, in solemn pomp, the chains and fetters which had once galled their limbs; and as he uttered the solemn words, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust," I would have said, 'That man was a sound, Orthodox, Baptist minister, and these are some of the fruits of his Orthodoxy!'"

Now, was there ever a more foolish assumption than this—that Sharpe, Wilberforce, Clarkson and Knibb were abolitionists, *because* they were 'Orthodox Christians'? Their theological opinions had nothing whatever to do with their anti-slavery sentiments or efforts; for if these last were 'some of the fruits of their Orthodoxy,' why did they have to contend with the Orthodoxy of England, for many a long and weary year, in order to effect the abolition of the foreign slave trade and of West India slavery? And how does it happen that it is just in that section of our country—the South—where Orthodoxy runs to seed, and they thank God that neither Unitarianism nor Universalism, neither Spiritualism nor Abolitionism, nor any other of 'the numberless isms known at the North,' makes any headway—that slavery is upheld and vindicated as a truly evangelical system, and worthy of all acceptation? Do not like causes produce like effects? Further—will Mr. Worrall tell us, if Orthodoxy and Abolitionism be synonymous terms, in reference to the sin of slavery, how does it happen that, even in Orthodox Massachusetts, every fugitive slave may be hunted from Cape Cod to Berkshire, and must be spirited away to Canada to secure his liberty? And so of New England—so of all the North.

Mr. Worrall says—'In 1772, Granville Sharpe tells us that the Orthodox Christians in England were all opposed to slavery.' We distrust the statement: it is scarcely possible Sharpe should have made so strange a declaration. If he did, fifty years of anti-slavery conflict on the soil of England, afterward, prove it to have been a delusion. The Church, (established and dissenting,) the press, public sentiment, the wealthy and powerful, Parliament and the Throne, were all hostile to the early pioneers in the cause of bleeding Africa; and they all had to be conquered, in one of the severest moral battles known to the world, before a single restriction could be laid upon the African slave traffic, or a fetter in the Colonies broken. Wilberforce stood almost alone in Parliament at that time. Clarkson's life was in continual peril, and he very narrowly escaped being thrown into the river Mersey at Liverpool, so enraged were the merchants at his endeavors to suppress their piratical business. Fifty-one years after Granville Sharpe made the apocryphal assertion attributed to him by Mr. Worrall, 'that the Orthodox Christians in England were all opposed to slavery,' Thomas Fowell Buxton (successor of Wilberforce in Parliament) did not dare propose, in his place, anything more than the 'gradual' abolition of Colonial servitude—'not the rapid termination of slavery,' to use his own words—'not the sudden emancipation of the negro—but such preparatory steps, such measures of precaution, as by slow degrees, and in course of years, first fitting and qualifying the slaves for the enjoyment of freedom, shall conduct us to the annihilation of slavery.' And all this cautious and compromising policy, this yielding up the whole ground as a matter of principle, was deemed necessary by him to propitiate public sentiment, the Church, Parliament and the Throne! And when his motion was pressed to a vote in the House, he had less than half a dozen members to stand by his side! In 1824, writing to a friend, he says—'The degree, I will not call it, of opposition, but virulence, against me, is quite surprising. I much question whether there is a more unpopular individual than myself in the House just at this moment.' Again—'The slavery question looks wretchedly. I begin to think that, opposed as we are by the West Indians, *deserted by Government*, and DEEMED ENTHUSIASTS BY THE PUBLIC, we shall be able to do little or nothing.' Remember his proposition was simply one of mitigation and gradualism—not to lay the axe at the root of the tree, cut it down, and give it to the consuming fire. Such was the state of Orthodox England, on this question, so late as 1824.

Speaking of that period, his biographer says—'The prospect before him was full of difficulties. The small anti-slavery party were attacked on all sides with fury. Even in the House they were stigmatized with the names of 'enthusiasts,' 'saints,' and similar epithets, while beyond its walls a perfect hurricane of ridicule and abuse assailed them.' In 1825, Buxton writes to a friend that he had just delivered an anti-slavery speech in the House, and adds—'I am prepared for a poor report in the newspapers, for *even the reporters sympathize with the House* in detestation of slavery questions; and I understand that though Lushington made a most capital speech, last week, on the Jamaica business, it was only reported in a very superficial manner.' Two years afterwards, in 1827, he says—'If a man had a large share of reputation, he would lose the greater part of it *by espousing the cause of the slaves*; if he had a moderate share, he would lose all: THAT IS MY CASE.' In giving his 'Recollections' of Mr. Buxton, the Rev. John Cunningham, of Harrow, says:—

'He was a man of indomitable courage. His grappling with a mad dog, rather than suffer him to rush into the crowded streets, was a just type of his Parliamentary life. There were occasions when *nothing but the stoutest heart could have endured the hostility to which he was exposed.* It was then that he often reminded me of that glowing passage—

'Come one, come all—this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I!'

So much for the vaunted Orthodoxy of England, in achieving the victory over Colonial slavery. It made the public sentiment what Mr. Buxton found it to be—pro-slavery, and bitterly hostile to the advocates of emancipation.

Now, a word in regard to William Knibb, whom Mr. Worrall, with something of sectarian pride, lauds as 'a sound, Orthodox, *Baptist* minister,'—'some of the fruits of whose Orthodoxy' (!) are the broken chains and fetters of the West India bondmen,—and who he would fain make his hearers believe, was a fair sample of the anti-slavery spirit which pervaded England, from the days of Granville Sharpe downward. All honor to the memory of William Knibb! He did good service to the cause of negro emancipation, and deserves to be held in lasting remembrance. We became personally acquainted with him in London, in 1833, after his forcible expulsion from Jamaica by mob violence—atood with him on the same platform—heard his stirring appeals—received his warm benediction and cordial grasp of fellowship—and was strongly impressed by his intense magnetism, his strong intellect, and his lion-like spirit. But neither he, nor any other of the missionaries, went to Jamaica for the purpose of pleading the cause of the oppressed, or contesting the right of the planter to his slave property, but only to inculcate an abstract faith, preach a denominational religion, and instruct the slaves to the extent of slaveholding toleration. The planters, at last, became suspicious of them, accused them falsely of tampering with their slaves, thrust some of them into prison, expelled others from the island, destroyed seventeen chapels, and inflicted upon the pastors and their flocks every species of cruelty and insult. Writing to Rev. Dr. Philip of Cape Town, in 1830, Mr. Buxton says:—

'Our slavery concerns go on well: the religious public has, *at last*, taken the field. The West Indians have done us good service. They have of late flogged slaves in Jamaica for praying, and imprisoned the missionaries, and they have given the nation to understand that preaching and praying are offences not to be tolerated in a slave colony.—That is right—it exhibits slavery in its true colors—it enforces your doctrine, that, if you wish to teach religion to slaves, *the first thing is*, TO PUT DOWN SLAVERY.'

Messrs. Knibb and Burchell having been driven from the island in 1832, arrived in England at the very juncture when their evidence before the Parliamentary Committee was of the utmost value. They addressed immense meetings in various parts of the kingdom, and helped to consolidate and inflame the whole body of Dissenters, *as against the persecuting Established Church*, both at home and in the colonies, and thus to effect that mighty change in public sentiment which made both Parliament and Throne do its bidding, and gave the death-blow to Colonial bondage. Mr. Buxton frequently adverted to the overruling hand of Providence, which thus turned the intolerance of the slave system to its own destruction. Thus it will be seen, (giving to Mr. Knibb his just due,) that it was not so much the inherent wickedness of slavery, as it was the cruel imprisonment and brutal expulsion of the missionaries, and the ruthless destruction of their chapels, that kindled among the Orthodox Dissenters of England a flame of indignation which swept like a prairie fire all over the kingdom, and ultimately melted every fetter. More was due to the appeals and labors of a few such men as Fowell Buxton, Zachary Macaulay, Lord Brougham, Dr. Lushington, James Stephen, George Thompson, Thomas Pringle, and Andrew Thomson, and to such women as Elizabeth Heyrick, Eliza Cropper, Ann Knight, and Elizabeth Pease, than to the whole Established and Dissenting Churches, in their organized capacity. Indeed, if it had not been primarily for Zachary Macaulay, on the one hand, and Elizabeth Heyrick, on the other, (she first proclaiming the doctrine of immediate emancipation,) there is reason to doubt whether West India slavery would not still have been in existence.

The complacent boast of Mr. Worrall, therefore, that, in view of British West India emancipation, 'it is too late to say that the spread of Orthodox Christianity would not advance the cause of the poor Africans,' is shown to be extremely foolish, as Orthodox views have nothing to do with that cause specifically, or as a practical matter. America is pre-eminently Orthodox in sentiment; yet she is the most unscrupulous and the most desperate of all the slaveholding nations of the earth. Hence, when Mr. Worrall asserts that 'nothing can be more unjust than to deny that the prominent religious denominations of American Christians have done, and are still doing, much to advance the abolition cause,' he evinces great ignorance or marked effrontery. We challenge him to show *one* 'prominent religious denomination,' as such, that treats man-stealing as it does sheep-stealing, or disciplines the traffickers in human flesh and owners of slave property as it does those who are convicted of theological heresy, or demands the immediate liberation of those who are groaning in bondage, or gives any countenance whatever to the anti-slavery movement, or is not, by position and influence, 'on the side of the oppressor, where there is power'!

☞ The Christian Examiner, for May, contains the following papers:—I. Hortensius the Orator. II. Jewish Literature. III. Ideal Girlhood in Modern Romance. IV. The Oriental Question. V. The Mormons. VI. Review of Current Literature. Literary Intelligence. New Publications Received. It is a highly interesting number throughout. Crosby & Nichols, 117 Washington Street.

☞ At the request of a friend, who thinks it may solace the heart of many a bereaved mother, we have copied, in full, on our last page, the remarkable poem 'To Isobel,' by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose poetic affluence of thought and expression is wonderful.

ORSINI AND PIERRI MEETING.

On Thursday evening of last week, a public meeting was held in Turner's Hall, 677 Washington street, in this city, 'in honor of Orsini and Pierri, the noble martyrs of Liberty,' who were recently beheaded at Paris for attempting the death of Louis Napoleon, the perjured usurper, and for killing and wounding several of his retinue by certain destructive materials used on the occasion. The meeting was chiefly composed of Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians, many of them exiles for their love of republican freedom.

The Committee of Arrangements proposed the following officers:—

President—JOHN W. LEBARNES.

Vice President—FRANCIS JOSEPH PICCAROLI.

Secretaries—EDOUARD SION, and JOHN NEPHEW.

The list was accepted, and Mr. LeBarnes took the chair.

The President then read the following resolutions:

Resolved, That whenever or wherever the rights of the people are stricken down, the freedom of speech and the press denied, the friends of liberty proscribed, banished, imprisoned, robbed and murdered, that it becomes not only the right but the duty of the philanthropic and just to crush the power of the oppressor by any and every means which the God of nature has placed in their hands.

Resolved, That the sceptre of empire in France is now held by a usurper and a tyrant; that, not satisfied with the enslavement of France, he has extended his despotic arm over Italy; that to schemes of personal ambition, he has sacrificed the political hopes and social interests of 'all Europe;' that his crimes against freedom, in this age of advancement, are more atrocious than those of Nero and Caligula in the olden times; and, therefore, in the estimation of just men, that in the attempt of Pianori, Orsini and Pierri to strike down the tyrant, they have given themselves to martyrdom in a most holy cause.

Resolved, That the bold, self-sacrificing efforts of these men, though unsuccessful, are nevertheless a cheering evidence that the Spirit of Freedom is not dead; that silently and in darkness, like the volcano and the tempest, the living forces of revolution are culminating, and that the fall of despotism and the enfranchisement of man are facts that are written upon the scroll of inevitable destiny.

Resolved, That in thus meeting to the memory of Pianori, Orsini and Pierri, we but do homage to the eternal principles of Justice and Freedom, and express our sympathy with the host of martyrs that have gone before them, and that may follow after them in the same holy cause.

Resolved, That as cosmopolitan revolutionists, we declare our devotion to the great cause of liberty and justice wherever the battle against despotism is yet to be fought; that in this movement, we recognize no predilections for nationality or race, for caste or condition, for complexion or sex; that our aim is nothing less than the conciliation of all human interests, the freedom and happiness of all mankind, the realization of social justice and harmony every where, and the achievement and perpetuation of the *Republique Universelle.*

Resolved, That in the spirit of universal fraternity, and by vows the most sacred, we do hereby consecrate ourselves to this great cause, and to each other, with the pledge of mutual sympathy and aid in whatever field of achievement the sword of justice may be hereafter unsheathed.

Mr. Piccaroli then addressed the audience in Italian—followed by Mr. Muller in German, by M. E. Coquard, Leon Chautard and De Pierre Fouquet, in French, by Dr. Adolph Douai in German, by Signor Vaccari in Italian, and by Messrs. Thayer and Cluer. The speeches were earnest and eloquent, and such as the occasion naturally suggested to those who believe in seeking freedom through the blood of the tyrant. The proceedings throughout were decorous, and serious rather than enthusiastic.

The following letter from Wm. Lloyd Garrison was read by the President:—

BOSTON, April 29, 1858.

DEAR SIR:

I deem it an honor to have received an official invitation to be present, this evening, at the meeting at Turner's Hall, to commemorate the memories of Orsini and his associates, who have recently been beheaded by the decree of a remorseless tyrant in the person of Louis Napoleon, because it implies that you believe my sympathies and aspirations are with the oppressed throughout the world, without regard to race, color or clime. You rightly judge my character. I am not only an abolitionist for the chattelized slave, but an emancipationist for the whole human race. I am no advocate for one-sided liberty, or mere national independence; but, wherever tyranny exists, I loathe and execrate it, and proclaim liberty to be the inalienable right of every human being—liberty of person, of locomotion, of thought, of speech, of the press—liberty in all things, under all circumstances, in all lands, for all peoples, through all time, and to all eternity. For more than a quarter of a century, I have publicly inscribed on my flag this motto—'MY COUNTRY IS THE WORLD; MY COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.' This sentiment is in my heart, and circulates with every drop of blood in my body; and when I prove recreant to it, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. Therefore it is that I deeply sympathize with your gathering, this evening, because it is a heartfelt protest against the cowardly, perfidious, blood-stained usurper who has crushed the liberties of France, perpetrated innumerable crimes and atrocities, and is seeking to aid every form of European despotism. It is true, I do not believe in killing any man—not even so great a monster as Louis Napoleon—because I believe in the inviolability of human life, and that the weapons of death are the legitimate weapons of tyranny; while those of liberty are thought, speech, intellectual enlightenment, protest, contumacy, non-conformity, untiring persistency, indomitable purpose,

THE TWENTY-FIFTH
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY
SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL.

The undersigned, who have for so many years done what they could to promote the Anti-Slavery Cause, financially and otherwise, through the medium of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, will, as usual, hold their (twenty-fifth) anniversary at the close of the year, with the same purpose of still further strengthening the beneficial influences of that Society, moral, religious and political, for the extinction of slavery.

At the beginning, before the principles of the Cause were understood, we could not, with the slightest hope of success, ask of the public, whose affair it is no less than our own, direct contributions of money. We, therefore, devised an Annual Bazaar for the sale of contributions of articles, and it afforded an opportunity of great usefulness, both financial and social, to the Cause.

But the changed state of the public mind now suggests greater directness in the method and increase in the usefulness of this anniversary; and we propose, this year, to give our usual sums and take up our accustomed collections by direct cash subscription; and we entreat the friends, both at home and abroad, who have been wont to co-operate with us, to do the same, nothing doubting the result will much exceed the sum ($3000) raised last year.

To our Southern friends we present this prospect with increased hope of their co-operation in consequence; for, as none better than they know what slavery and the daily increasing risks of its tenure are, so none have a deeper concern in seeking the most effectual means of putting an end to this common sin and suffering of our native land.

The money we have annually raised has been hitherto employed to sustain the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, the organ of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; but, following the recent indication of the Executive Committee in making individual efforts to place that paper on a self-supporting subscription basis, we shall enable them to devote the result of our *joint* financial effort to sustain eloquent and faithful lecturers, now so much needed, in far greater numbers than ever before.

By this plan, we may accomplish double the amount of service to our cause, and thus furnish its friends and our own with a two-fold motive to continue and increase their contributions.

No words from us at this late day are needed to stimulate a prudent generosity by description of all the means that go to change the mind and the heart of a great nation on the central question of its policy, or to kindle a sublime one by commendation of a cause identified with every thought that is ennobling and holy, with every hope that is august and magnificent, with every memory that is precious and sainted, with every idea that is consoling and beautiful, with every effort that is enlightening and beneficent, with every association that history, or poetry, or patriotism, or philanthropy, or Christianity, or life or death, have sanctified and blessed.

We cordially and respectfully invite the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, *the world over*, to meet with us at the close of the year, (time and place named hereafter,) to receive our subscriptions, our good wishes, and our thanks, and to unite with us on an occasion which, as the end of one quarter of a century of labors and the beginning of another, will be of no ordinary commemorative interest and prospective significance to THE CAUSE.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
MARY MAY,
LOUISA LORING,
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
L. MARIA CHILD,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
ANNE WARREN WESTON,
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,
CAROLINE WESTON,
MARY WILLEY,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,
SUSAN C. CABOT,
LYDIA D. PARKER,
ELIZA F. EDDY,
ABBY FRANCIS,
SARAH RUSSELL MAY,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
EVELINA A. S. SMITH,
ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL,
AUGUSTA G. KING,
ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,
ANNA SHAW GREENE,
ELIZA APTHORP,
MATTIE GRIFFITH,
MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
ANNE LANGDON ALGER.

WILSON'S REPLY TO HAMMOND ON THE LECOMPTON BILL.

In the *Liberator* of April 16th were some extracts from a speech by Hon. Henry Wilson, delivered March 20th, 1858, in reply to Senator Hammond of South Carolina, who had not only defended slavery as it exists in the South, and declared that the laboring class, all over the world, are slaves, and must necessarily continue such, but, moreover, had used expressions which, however adjusted to what are called the 'courtesies of debate,' plainly impute a degraded character and servile position to many of the Northern Senators, and three-quarters of the constituents of them all.

In the passages of his speech above mentioned, Mr. Wilson vigorously and nobly defended the dignity of labor; showed that the faithful application of a man's powers to the necessary work of the world he lives in is the proof, and by no means the disproof, of his true manliness; and frankly appealed to his own history to show the utter falsity and absurdity of the slaveholder's claim, that manly labor is incompatible with cultivation of mind, with aspiration towards progress and improvement, and with the attainment of those distinctions and honors which are most prized by mankind.

Mr. Wilson did more than this. He vigorously carried the war into the enemy's country, and by well chosen statistics from unimpeachable authorities, in regard to the comparative condition of North and South relative to industry, production, arts, sciences, intelligence, civilization, wealth, credit, solvency, comfort, security and prospect for the future, he showed the absurdity and falsehood of Senator Hammond's claim in all these particulars.

What Mr. Wilson has here claimed for himself, and for his constituents and countrymen, the laboring men of the North, is perfectly true. But more than this is true of Mr. Wilson himself, and we take especial pleasure in giving this testimony to his credit, since we must make unfavorable criticism upon other aspects of his position, and other portions of his speech. In comparison with that class of men which Senator Hammond praises and honors as the highest types and noblest specimens of the race—with that class at the North whose hands have never been hardened by toil, nor their way hedged up by penury—with the men who, beginning life with every advantage of high culture, refined society, and the best appliances for intellectual education, chose the department of study and occupation which was most congenial to their tastes and powers, found in that occupation itself a constant culture of the intellect, were brought by it into association with the most gifted minds, and found leisure in it for the cultivation of elegant literature—in comparison with Everett, Winthrop and Choate, Hillard and Lunt, Dewey and South-side Adams, Mr. Wilson stands out illustrious and glorious; a living example of the fact that *manliness* springs up more surely from democratic than from aristocratic culture. *He* opposes slavery, up to the point where he is withheld by the interests of his party; they try to keep their party persistent and efficient in the support of slavery.

But the more important question now comes up—Can we bestow *positive* praise upon Mr. Wilson's speech, and upon his position? To be nobler than very mean men is no great distinction. Is Mr. Wilson a true representative of the 'liberty,' the 'humanity,' the 'rights of man,' to which portions of his speech so forcibly appeal? Does he advocate those great principles any further than they suit the policy of the Republican party? Does he deliberately and systematically give up so much of right and justice as is found to interfere with the success of that party in any emergency? Does he differ from Senator Hammond in kind, or only in degree? These are questions which an abolitionist must keep in mind, in looking at the speech of Mr. Wilson.

Abolitionists have good memories, and they need to have them, while they deal with politicians. It would be the extreme of folly if, in our admiration of the keenness of Mr. Wilson's retorts upon a favorer of the *extension* of slavery, we should forget that he is himself entirely acquiescent in the *existence* of slavery, pledged to a party which is pledged to that policy, and in fraternal coöperation with men who are constantly renewing their declarations of allegiance to it. It would be the extreme of folly to forget that, a little more than a year ago, in his place in the Senate as the representative of that party, he disclaimed for himself and them all 'DESIRE to change the domestic institutions of existing States,' all 'DISPOSITION to endanger the relation of master and slave'—that, for himself and them, he *vindicated* the right of the Southern States to hold men in slavery, and promised them peace in simple slave*holding*, if they would abandon their policy of slave *extension*—and that he has never retracted these declarations, nor abandoned these positions. It would be the extreme of folly to forget that he is co-operating with the editor of the *Tribune*, who is willing to vote for slaveholders, and admit more slave States to the Union; and with Seward, who declares the battle to be fought and the victory won; and with Gooch, who finds 'rights' in the institution of slavery, and refuses to make war upon it; and with Banks, who declares that he is determined to interfere in no way, at no time, and to no extent, with those sectional, local and traditional rights which slaveholders claim; and with Sumner, who proposed, in his last great speech, the restoration, 'in good faith,' of the Missouri Compromise; and that with these men he will labor, in the coming years as in the past, to place Fremont, or some other representative of these ideas, in the Executive chair of the United States.

But it is not merely by remembrance of the past that we judge Mr. Wilson. This very speech furnishes the evidence that he still holds the same position. He not only says to the South Carolina Senator, who has frankly placed the North and the South, the free and the slave States, *freedom and slavery*, face to face—'I make no assault; I make no war upon the South'—but he makes it very plain that it is the 'administration' now in power that he is attacking, and not slavery; not that power which stands *behind* the President's chair, and moves the official automaton at its will, but the automaton itself, which he seeks to replace by another, differing from it in degree only, not in kind.

Even when Mr. Wilson speaks of 'an aristocratic, oligarchic class'—of 'the slaveholding aristocracy of the South'—and even of 'the Slave Power'—it is evident that he refers to the tyranny exercised by that class and that power over himself and the non-slaveholding whites of the country, North and South, and not over the slaves. For freedom in Kansas he will speak, vote and fight, at any time, and to any extent; for freedom in Massachusetts, he will act moderately and cautiously, up to the point where his party says the Union is in danger; there he stops; but for freedom in Kentucky, he has yet to say the first word and do the first act. Nay! he expressly offers this bargain to the slaveholder: Give me Kansas and the other Territories, and exercise just as much tyranny as you please in Kentucky and the other slave States! Is this your mode of securing *humanity, liberty*, and *the rights of man*, Mr. Wilson? If you offer this bargain to the slaveholders in good faith, and mean to abide by it, you are fighting for party only, not at all for freedom; if you are trying to cheat the slaveholders, and design, after gaining Kansas by this trick, to break your bargain, and use the power you have gained for the advantage of the slaves, how can we be assured that—'for a consideration'—you will not cheat us also?

One thing more. In pursuing the contrast between free and slave States, for which Mr. Hammond gave him such a tempting opportunity, Mr. Wilson stretched his claim in favor of Massachusetts further than truth will warrant. If he will adhere to the Union with South Carolina, and to the Constitution which protects slavery equally with freedom, he should take the legitimate consequences of that position, and stand humbly, hat in hand and with downcast eyes, before the men who kicked *his* ambassador, Mr. Hoar, out of that State, sentenced to the penitentiary any delegate who might hereafter come on the same business, and have ever since continued the outrages on account of which he was sent, without any thing more than a verbal protest from Mr. Wilson or his party. Nay! more. While South Carolina, on her own soil, thus defeats, outrages and bullies Massachusetts, she equally outrages and defeats her here, under the very Constitution which Mr. Wilson is so anxious to retain. For her fugitive slave dares not stay in Massachusetts, cannot be protected here, cannot find quietness and security any where this side of Canada; and even if he shall be lucky enough, after being seized in Massachusetts, to obtain a jury trial for his 'inalienable right to liberty,' under Mr. Wilson's 'Personal Liberty Law,' (which Mr. Wilson's Supreme Court deems to be unconstitutional,) if the jury decide that he is a slave, as they are very likely to do, Mr. Wilson agrees to re-enslave him. In view of all these facts, the following claim of Mr. Wilson respecting Massachusetts, made on the 13th page of his speech, becomes as absurdly bombastic and false as any thing in the speech of Mr. Hammond:—

'Over the poor and lowly, she casts the broad shield of equal, just and humane legislation. *The poorest man that treads her soil, no matter what blood may run in his veins, is protected in his rights.*'

Now, precisely the poorest man that treads the soil of Massachusetts is the fugitive slave. He is assumed not to own his own body. Massachusetts does not protect him—does not even attempt it—says she cannot do it, on account of her 'Constitutional obligations.' All that Mr. Wilson has ever attempted to do for the poor fellow is to give him the *chance* of a jury trial, to decide whether his *inalienable* right shall be alienated; and if the jury fails him, Mr. Wilson lets the slave 'slide,' and holds fast to the Union. Neither he nor his party has yet conceived the idea of protecting the fugitive in his God-given rights, Constitution or no Constitution, Union or no Union, and scorning to make it a question for trial at all, whether a man is a man or a piece of property. And when others have adopted and proclaimed these ideas, instead of echoing and enforcing them, Mr. Wilson and his party protest against them as dangerously revolutionary ideas, and, for the sake of sustaining the Constitution, relinquish the liberty which that instrument was intended to maintain and secure.—C. K. W.

☞ For a forcible delineation of the thoroughly selfish and unprincipled nature of the Anti-Lecompton struggle, both in Congress and in Kansas, read the article on our first page, by Rev. GEO. B. CHEEVER, copied from the New York *Independent*.

LETTER FROM CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

CUMMINGTON, (Mass.) April 24, 1858.

I left home on the 17th April, and began my labors in Western Massachusetts at Florence, on the 18th, having a very good congregation, and apparently a fair prospect for the future. What effect the revival efforts making there, as all over the country, may have on the results of my own work, time must determine. I lectured some part of the week on slavery in that neighborhood, and recommenced my labors here on the 25th, having here also a good audience for the place—quite as large as the usual attendance last year—I think somewhat larger. This I did not expect, as both the Orthodox churches near by are having a revival, and hold frequent and well attended meetings, and I had anticipated some falling off at the 'infidel' meeting, in consequence. It can hardly be said, I fear, that the revival here bears *only* the peaceable fruits of righteousness, for I hear of some things growing out of it which look more like exhibitions of uncharitableness and intolerance. But the Lord rules, and the cause of right is safe in his hands, however much and however bitter the opposition it encounters. I am not wholly without hopes that, as we have the bell of one of the Orthodox churches to call our little congregation together, so we may have some help from the excitement generated by their revival measures, to increase the interest of our own meetings. I have been lecturing on slavery, since Sunday, to fair gatherings for the places I spoke in. On Sunday, I had a crowded school-house for a third service, partly Anti-Slavery, and partly having direct reference to the revival; and my words seemed to find favorable acceptance. Some of the Orthodox were present, (among them, at least one, if not more, of the young converts,) though their own minister was holding a meeting at his own meeting-house, at the same time. What the future may reveal we cannot, of course, now say; but, so far as I can judge from present indications, the good cause is destined to hold its ground well up here among the hills, and the little band of its supporters seem to show no abatement of interest and earnestness on its behalf. There is talk of trying to hold a Convention here some time in the summer, near the 4th of July or 1st of August, perhaps. Nothing definite is yet determined, but the subject is under consideration.

I suppose you often see our friend C. K. Whipple. When you next see him, will you tell him that his assertion (in the tract published from his pen, by the Am. A. S. Society,) that the Bible Society has circulated a document, teaching a pro-slavery interpretation of Scripture, is pronounced here, by an Orthodox clergyman, a downright lie; and that some of the *un*orthodox are anxious to get the *proof* sustaining the allegation of the tract, so as to meet effectively the contradiction of it?* If friend W. has that proof in his possession, as I suppose he has, would it not be well for him to publish it in the '*Lie-berater*,' by which means it will come into the hands which wish to use it? By glancing at the tract, you will see that it cites in support of its statement, the Bible Record for November, 1854, and for April, 1855. The friends here have found the latter number, but *it alone* does not sustain the statement, and they have not been able to find the other. The April number speaks of an 'excellent address,' by, I think, a South Carolina associate in the Society's work, which had appeared in the Record of the preceding February, and that address doubtless contains the representations of the pro-slavery character of the Scriptures, to which our friend W. alludes; but *that* our friends here have been unable to find. Is it to *that* number (the February one) the tract meant to refer, or is there also further proof of its statement in the preceding November number? A full quotation of such passages from both, (if the November, 1854, is not a mistake for February, 1855,) as will present distinctly and completely the ground of the statement in the tract, would be very acceptable to our friends hereabout.

Yours, very truly,
C. C. BURLEIGH.

S. MAY, Jr., Boston, Mass.

* In consequence of a denial, similar to that above mentioned, by an Orthodox clergyman of Massachusetts, of the truth of the statement in question, I published the evidence of it, in full, in the *Liberator* of February 27, 1857. For the convenience of those who now wish to see it, that article will be republished in next week's *Liberator*.—C. K. W.

LEOMINSTER, May 2, 1858.

W. L. GARRISON:

SIR,—In the report of the Convention of the Worcester North Anti-Slavery Society, held here on Fast Day, I omitted part of the second resolution. When complete, it reads thus:—

Resolved, That in the recent removal of Judge Loring from the judicial position which he has so long disgraced, we recognize the triumph of a progressive anti-slavery sentiment rising above and controlling party politics, which gives us cause of rejoicing; and hopefully renewing and continuing our efforts for the conversion of Massachusetts, at least, to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, so that she shall make her soil as free to the fugitive as is the soil of our monarchical neighbor, where the hunted fugitive is now secure; and withdraw all her influence and power from that gigantic conspiracy against human liberty, the American Union.

G. F. C.

MORE NEW MUSIC. Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington Street, has just published the following pieces of Music:—

Minnie Moore. Ballad composed by John L. Hutton.

The Flying Cloud. New Schottish by Charles D'Albert.

Beautiful Venice. Composed by J. P. Knight.

Come, oh! come with me. Serenade, written by B. S. Barclay, and adapted to a popular Italian air.

To the Union Boat Club of Boston. Rippling Wave Waltz. Composed by J. W. Turner.

Enterpe Grand Valse Brilliante. Composed for the piano by F. W. Smith.

Flora. Composed for the piano by Charles Mayer.

March de la Reine. For the piano, by J. Ascher.

☞ Abel Tompkins, 38 and 40 Cornhill, have just published 'A Sermon on Religion, and the Present Revival,' by Rev. W. H. Ryder. It is sensible, discriminating, practical—declaring 'the work needful to be done is not to make people sectarian, nor to frighten them into an effervescent excitement, but to make bad people good, and good people better—to awaken the public conscience, to quicken the sense of right, so that bad practices will be abandoned, and wicked employments given up—to practically apply Christianity to daily life.'

☞ That the American people are appreciative of any substantial service rendered them, is seen in the result of Dr. Ayer's enterprise. It was something of a venture for a chemist of his splendid reputation among the literati of the world, to risk it in the production of Cough Drops and Pills. But he boldly threw himself into the gap where his talents could best subserve the public weal, and it is now easy to see that he did not misjudge the temper of his countrymen. Throughout this nation and some foreign lands, his name is foremost at the bedside of sickness, while in the good he scatters, he is second to no living man. He wins the brightest laurels man can ever wear, and enjoys in untold measure the luxury of doing good.—*Dubuque, (Iowa,) Observer*.

☞ We hope to meet a strong array of the tried friends of our glorious Cause, at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the city of New York, on Tuesday next. It is to be succeeded by the National Woman's Rights Convention.

TEMPORARY TRIUMPH OF INIQUITY.

As has all along been feared, corruption has done its work in Congress—the English juggle has been passed through both Houses, and the Administration and the pro-slavery Democracy have fully committed themselves to the climax of all meanness, if not of all villainies. On Friday—hangman's day—fit day for such an act! the deed was consummated. Henceforth the names of the whiffling, perfidious crew, who deserted the opposition at the last moment, are synomous with corruption, deceit, and treachery to freedom—let them be consigned to the immortality of infamy that surely awaits them.

It is of little consequence to detail the windings and turnings during the last few days of the consideration of the Lecompton Conference Report. Suffice it to say that in the House, on Friday, after much excitement, confusion, crimination and recrimination, the question was taken on the adoption of the report, and was decided in the affirmative—yeas 112, nays 103. Applause followed, accompanied by hisses, but the Speaker checked the demonstrations. The Senate, in hot haste, proceeded to concur with the House, and adopted the report by yeas 32, nays 22—by a singular coincidence a majority of *nine*, the same as in the House.

Considerable sensation was manifested in the Senate when it was announced that the House had passed the bill; but Mr. Seward very shrewdly remarked that it caused him no discouragement—for it was a little matter, practically, whether the result was *the last defeat or the first victory!*

It is announced that the conglomeration of the pro-slavery Democracy at Washington were so jubilant that they fired several salutes and serenaded the President—oblivious of the fact that they were sounding the death-knell and requiem of their party, and firing volleys over its grave!

But the last act in the drama is not yet. The President and Congress have criminated themselves too deeply ever to receive an acquittal from the people whom they have insulted, betrayed and oppressed. No late repentance can wash the stain away. Treachery to the principles of freedom is a crime of too deep a dye ever to be forgotten or forgiven—and the administration of James Buchanan will long be pointed at as the meanest, most contemptible, most treacherous and detestable in history—the *last*, indeed, we trust, of the graceless. Words are inadequate to express the utter loathing and detestation which the freemen of the North, of all parties, feel for the tyrannical, corrupt, tricky and contemptible policy which Mr. Buchanan and his advisers have pursued from the start.—*Salem Register*.

THE HOUSE VOTE ON ENGLISH'S BILL.—The following is the recapitulation of the analysis of the members voting:

FOR THE BILL.

Southern Democrats,	68
Northern Democrats,	36
Southern Americans,	7
	111

AGAINST IT.

Republicans	82
Northern Democrats	12
Southern Americans	5
Southern Democrats	3
	102
Majority for the bill	9

The following are the Northern Democrats who have heretofore voted 'no' whenever Lecompton was proposed, but who said 'yes' to English's bill: Adrian of New Jersey, Cockerell of Ohio, Cox of Ohio, English of Indiana, Foley of Indiana, Groesbeck of Ohio, Hall of Ohio, Jones (Owen) of Pennsylvania, Lawrence of Ohio, Pendleton of Ohio.

☞ The Democracy, in various sections of the country, are burning gunpowder in honor of the adjustment of the Kansas question. In Washington, the President was serenaded and cannonaded. Mr. Buchanan appeared at a window in the White House, and returned thanks—saying that the best interests of the country were involved in the contest which had been so happily ended. On the same occasion, speeches were made by Senators Toombs and Gwin, and Messrs. Clay, Letcher and Stephenson of the House of Representatives.

THE SLAVE WOMAN, BETTY.

The excitement attending the refusal of a slave woman named Betty, the property of Mr. Sweet of Nashville, to receive her liberty when brought before Judge Shaw in this city last summer, will be remembered by our readers. The Lawrence *American* recently stated that Betty actually deserted her mistress at New York, and escaped to Cincinnati, where she was joined by her husband. This latter statement has aroused Mr. Sweet, and gives him an opportunity to vent his hatred of the Abolitionists. He, of course, chooses that most appropriate vehicle of slander and senile impotence, the New York *Herald*. We copy the letter as a piquant exposition of a slaveholder's feelings:

NASHVILLE, Tenn., April 22, 1858.

J. Gordon Bennett, Esq.: For the last few weeks, the above paragraph has been going the rounds of the black Republican papers of the North, and now I think it high time the truth was known. I love the truth, and hate the devil and the Abolitionists who—both combined, no doubt—have concocted this base fabrication.

Now be it known to you and—through the columns of your widely circulated *Herald*—to your numerous readers, that the said Betty referred to in the above paragraph, is here in this city, and has been here for the last three months. True, she came home some six weeks prior to myself and family coming, but by my permission, and because I promised her she should come at Christmas; and her desire to come then is not to be wondered at, when you take into consideration that all the slaves throughout the entire South have from Christmas to New Year's as a holiday week, which to them is a happier week than ever rolls over the head of any Northern operative. Knowing that I could trust her, as she had withstood the loving embraces and the pleadings, and, at last, the jeers, sneers and taunts of the Boston abolitionists, I sent her home, purchased her a through ticket, amply supplied her with gold to pay her incidental expenses, went with her myself to Pier No. 1, put her on board the Perth Amboy boat for Philadelphia, and instructed her how to avoid and keep out of the society of the abolitionists—all of which she duly observed, and arrived here in about ten days from New York, and is now happy and contented with those she 'still loves.'

This is a true statement of the whole affair, which can be verified by all the city of Nashville. As for Betty, she feels highly indignant at the slanderous reports that are circulated about her at the North, so prejudicial to her character, for she knows that none but the meanest negroes run away, and therefore they must start with the premise that she is a mean negro. Those libelous, scurrilous Black Republican editors had better look out how they tell such egregious lies about Betty, or she will have them up for defamation of character. I am glad, Mr. Editor, that she considers herself infinitely above those abolitionists who kept her in 'durance vile' for forty-eight hours in that rotten old shell of Grover's, singing abolition songs for her special edification, and showing her those three cent lithographs of negroes of both sexes in a perfect state of nudity, being whipped until 'rivers of blood' run down their backs. 'O! Lor! massa,' she said when she was restored to me, 'dese folks dun-no nuffin 'bout de Souf; dun-no nuffin 'bout us niggers; 'clar, never was hurt so bad in all my born days, neber, as I was by dem what ye call 'em, dem abolitionists, when da pulled me and pinched me till I was black and blue all over; and as for de Norf, O Lor! I's seed nuf; the abolitionists ain't no 'count, no how.'

A very significant, just and true verdict, coming, as it does, from a poor, benighted and ignorant Tennessee negro girl. Perhaps some of those pseudo-philanthropic abolitionists would like to purchase Betty's freedom. Suppose they send a delegation, consisting of that little, insignificant, contemptible, starving editor of the Lawrence *American*, and old Grover, together with his strong-minded daughter—'Yankee Nell'—from Lawrence, and that notorious chap, Pete Brigham, and the renegade preacher, Theodore Parker of Boston, and I think they will succeed in their mission; especially let 'Yankee Nell' come, who, on bended knees in the Boston Court House, begged Betty, 'with tears in her eyes, to declare for glorious freedom,' and, after compelling Betty to sleep with her for two whole nights, was at last defeated in her plans, and will have to forego that luxury, perhaps forever. Yes, let her come, let them all come, and I will engage that they shall have a warm military reception, and I will further guarantee that Betty willl spurn them again, as she did last summer in Boston.

By publishing the above, you will do honor to the cause of truth and right; and I will have the honor to remain, Very respectfully, yours, &c.,
LOUIS SWEET.

We wonder why this 'Tennessee negro girl' is 'poor, benighted and ignorant'? Is it a *necessary* concomitant of her condition as a slave? Can Mr. Sweet disclaim all responsibility for what he seems to regard as a matter of course?—*Boston Journal*.

☞ Mr. Urey, of Princeton, Caldwell county, Ky., has manumitted twenty-five of his negroes, for the purpose of sending them to Liberia.

FOREIGN NEWS. The steamship Borussia, from Southampton, Sunday afternoon, April 18, arrived at New York on Saturday morning, bringing intelligence from England one day later. The trial of Simon Bernard, tried under a Special Commission, consisting of the Lord Chief Justice, the Chief Baron, Mr. Justice Erle, and Mr. Justice Crowder, on the charge of being concerned in the attempt to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon, resulted in a verdict of not guilty.

The result was received with great cheering in and out of Court, and greeted with general satisfaction throughout the country.

His acquittal produced a great sensation. The Paris *Moniteur* did not publish the result when first received. Several journals confessed that they dared not publish the speech of the counsel for the prisoner, while others gave garbled extracts.

The Paris correspondent of the London *Post* says, the Emperor and his advisers do not regard with indifference the encouragement the result will give conspirators, but no exciting language will be employed by the French press to create indignation.

A motion to bring in a bill limiting Parliament to three years was defeated by 197 majority.

Lord Dunfermline, better known as Speaker Abercromby, is dead.

Charles River and Warren Bridges Free. A proclamation of the Governor, issued on Thursday morning of last week, proclaimed the freedom of Charles River and Warren Bridges. By an act of the last Legislature, it was provided, that 'whenever the Charles River and Warren Bridges Fund shall have reached the sum of $100,000, and all accounts and charges upon said fund shall have been paid and settled, the Governor shall issue his proclamation, declaring that the collection of tolls shall cease from and after such day as he shall appoint.' The fund having reached the amount of $100,000, the interest of which it is calculated will be sufficient to maintain and keep the bridges in repair in the future, the Governor issued his proclamation, declaring that 'the collection of tolls upon said Charles River and Warren Bridges shall cease on Friday, the thirtieth day of April instant, at the hour of twelve, meridian.'

Of the five avenues leading out of Boston, all but one are now free, and the remaining one, the Mill Dam, will be free in 1861.

☞ A most destructive fire occurred in Boston early on Sunday morning last. Three large warehouses and two dwelling-houses on Federal street were destroyed, and several other buildings were injured. By the falling of a wall, two firemen were instantly killed, one man had several ribs broken, and a woman was somewhat hurt. The loss by the fire will probably amount to nearly $225,000.

☞ The New York *Tribune* says that Mr. Giddings, after speaking in the House on Thursday, fainted in his seat. Business for several minutes was entirely suspended, Mr. Giddings being removed to a sofa, and many members gathered round him. He subsequently rallied. Mr. Niblack generously offered to pair off with him, as Mr. Giddings was anxious to participate in the voting.

WASHINGTON, May 1. A large number of members of Congress have united in requesting the President to confer on Judge Loring of Massachusetts the position of Judge of the U. S. Court of Claims, just vacated by the death of Judge Gilchrist. [This recommendation was made by the *Southern* members, and the President has of course promptly complied with it—and so the slave-catching Commissioner and Judge 'has his reward'—$4000 salary per annum, every dollar of it stained with blood!]

☞ A man named Lee has been convicted at Norfolk, Va., of harboring slaves, and sentenced to five years in the penitentiary.

☞ The Pacific Railroad Bill has been defeated in the Senate, being postponed to December, by a vote of 25 to 22—absent, 13.

☞ Skenadiah, the aged Indian Albany, was 106 years old on the 16th inst.

Snow and Cold Weather in New Hampshire.—Half an inch of snow fell in Keene, N. H., on the night of the 23d ult., and the hills around looked as white as in winter. The tree were covered with ice. Thermometer 28.

Sale of Ex-President Pierce's Horses.—The horses which were presented by the merchants of New York to Gen. Pierce, previous to his inauguration as President of the United States, were sold at auction in that city a few days since. They brought $445; the merchants paid $1500 for them.

☞ Gerrit Smith is to deliver the annual address before the American Peace Society, in Boston, the last of this month.

☞ The *Bee* announces the future editorial connection of Gen. Schouler with that paper. He will assume an equal share of the editorial responsibility with Mr. Pangborn, the present editor, and the arrangement will involve no change in the political course of the paper.

Fire and Loss of Life.—The Converse rope factory was destroyed by fire at Montreal on the 1st inst.—The foreman and three girls were burnt to death. One man jumped from the fourth story, and broke his back. Loss not ascertained, but it is very heavy, and said to be uninsured.

Norway.—The central part of the city of Christiana had been destroyed by fire. A later dispatch says three-fourths of the city was destroyed, and the loss was estimated at ten million francs.

Russia.—The emancipation of serfs in Russia is said to be making great progress, and the measure had become general.

☞ Two cargoes of coolies had arrived at Havana. There were five hundred and thirty in all. No less than *three hundred and twenty-seven* died on the passage, and were thrown overboard.

☞ THE NINTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION will be held in New York city, at Mozart Hall, 668 Broadway, on Thursday and Friday, May 13 and 14, 1858, commencing at 10 o'clock Thursday, A. M.

Lucy Stone, Ernestine L. Rose, Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, C. Lenox Remond, Mary F. Davis, Caroline H. Dall, Rev. T. W. Higginson, Aaron M. Powell, Frances D. Gage, and others, will address the several sessions of the Convention.

Communications for the Convention may be addressed to SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Anti-Slavery Office, 138 Nassau street, New York.

☞ THE SIXTH YEARLY MEETING OF THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA will convene at LONGWOOD, (near Hamorton,) Chester County, on FIRST DAY, the 30th of Fifth month, 1858, at 10 o'nlock, A. M., and continue its sessions, probably, for three or four successive days.

The friends of Truth, Purity and Progress, however named or nameless, are cordially invited to aid us by their presence and co-operation.

OLIVER JOHNSON, HENRIETTA W. JOHNSON,
JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, WILLIAM BARNARD,
ISAAC MENDENHALL, JAMES C. JACKSON,
and others.

☞ HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture at Milford, on Sunday, May 9, all day and evening. Subjects: 'The Supremacy of Man over his Incidents'—and 'The Christ of Calvary and the Christ of Christendom—the Difference between them.'

☞ CALVINISTIC REVIVALS.—DR. SYMINGTON BROWN will lecture on the above subject in GREENWOOD HALL, on Sunday, May 9, at 2 o'olock, P. M.

☞ NOTICE.—CHARLES C. BURLEIGH is an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, more particularly for the Western part of the State. His post-office address is Cummington, Hampshire Co., Mass.

☞ CHARLES L. REMOND, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in DANVERS on Sunday, May 9th.

He will speak at PAWTUCKET, R. I., on Sunday, May 16th.

☞ SITUATIONS WANTED.—Several young colored men want situations in stores and dwelling-houses. One who has learned the pegging shoe business is anxious to acquire a knowledge of sewing work.
Apply to WM. C. NELL,
April 9. 21 Cornhill.

☞ PLACE WANTED.—A gentleman in the vicinity of Boston, having under guardianship a colored lad from the South, aged 16 years, is desirous of securing for him the opportunity of learning either the carpenter's or the bricklayer's trade. Any one who can promote his object will please address
WM. C. NELL, 21 Cornhill.

☞ TREES AND PLANTS. A Catalogue of the choicest Fruit and Flowering Trees, Shrubs, Roses, &c., will be sent on application. Carriage of all packages paid to New York. B. M. WATSON,
Old Colony Nurseries, Plymouth, Mass.
Mch26 7w

The following remedies are offered to the public as the best, most perfect, which medical science can afford. AYER'S CATHARTIC PILLS have been prepared with the utmost skill which the medical profession of this age possesses, and their effects show they have virtues which surpass any combination of medicines hitherto known. Other preparations do more or less good; but this cures such dangerous complaints, so quick and so surely, as to prove an efficacy and a power to uproot disease beyond any thing which men have known before. By removing the obstructions of the internal organs and stimulating them into healthy action, they renovate the fountains of life and vigor,—health courses anew through the body, and the sick man is well again. They are adapted to disease, and disease only, for when taken by one in health they produce but little effect. This is the perfection of medicine. It is antagonistic to disease, and no more. Tender children may take them with impunity. If they are sick they will cure them, if they are well they will do them no harm.

Give them to some patient who has been prostrated with bilious complaint: see his bent-up, tottering form straighten with strength again; see his long-lost appetite return; see his clammy features blossom into health. Give them to some sufferer whose foul blood has burst out in scrofula till his skin is covered with sores; who stands, or sits, or lies in anguish. He has been drenched inside and out with every potion which ingenuity could suggest. Give him these PILLS, and mark the effect; see the scabs fall from his body; see the new, fair skin that has grown under them; see the late leper that is clean. Give them to him whose angry humors have planted rheumatism in his joints and bones; move him, and he screeches with pain; he too has been soaked through every muscle of his body with liniments and salves; give him these PILLS to purify his blood; they may not cure him, for, alas! there are cases which no mortal power can reach; but mark, he walks with crutches now, and now he walks alone; they have cured him. Give them to the lean, sour, haggard dyspeptic, whose gnawing stomach has long ago eaten every smile from his face and every muscle from his body. See his appetite return, and with it his health; see the new man. See her that was radiant with health and loveliness blasted and too early withering away; want of exercise or mental anguish, or some lurking disease, has deranged the internal organs of digestion, assimilation or secretion, till they do their office ill. Her blood is vitiated, her health is gone. Give her these PILLS to stimulate the vital principle into renewed vigor, to cast out the obstructions, and infuse a new vitality into the blood. Now look again—the roses blossom on her cheek, and where lately sorrow sat joy bursts from every feature. See the sweet infant wasted with worms. Its wan, sickly features tell you without disguise, and painfully distinct, that they are eating its life away. Its pinched-up nose and ears, and restless sleepings, tell the dreadful truth in language which every mother knows. Give it the PILLS in large doses to sweep these vile parasites from the body. Now turn again and see the ruddy bloom of childhood. Is it nothing to do these things? Nay, are they not the marvel of this age? And yet they are done around you every day.

Have you the less serious symptoms of these distempers, they are the easier cured. Jaundice, Costiveness, Headache, Sideache, Heartburn, Foul Stomach, Nausea, Pain in the Bowels, Flatulency, Loss of Appetite, King's Evil, Neuralgia, Gout, and kindred complaints all arise from the derangements which these PILLS rapidly cure. Take them perseveringly, and under the counsel of a good Physician if you can; if not, take them judiciously by such advice as we give you, and the distressing, dangerous diseases they cure, which afflict so many millions of the human race, are cast out like the devils of old—they must burrow in the brutes and in the sea. Price 25 cents per box—5 boxes for $1.

Through a trial of many years and through every nation of civilized men, AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL has been found to afford more relief and to cure more cases of pulmonary disease than any other remedy known to mankind. Cases of apparently settled consumption have been cured by it, and thousands of sufferers who were deemed beyond the reach of human aid have been restored to their friends and usefulness, to sound health and the enjoyments of life, by this all-powerful antidote to diseases of the lungs and throat. Here a cold had settled on the lungs. The dry, hacking cough, the glassy eye, and the pale, thin features of him who was lately lusty and strong, whisper to all but him CONSUMPTION. He tries every thing; but the disease is gnawing at his vitals, and shows its fatal symptoms more and more over all his frame. He is taking the CHERRY PECTORAL now; it has stopped his cough and made his breathing easy; his sleep is sound at night; his appetite returns, and with it his strength. The dart which pierced his side is broken. Scarcely any neighborhood can be found which has not some living trophy like this to shadow forth the virtues which have won for the CHERRY PECTORAL an imperishable renown. But its usefulness does not end here. Nay, it accomplishes more by prevention than cure. The countless colds and coughs which it cures are the seed which would have ripened into a dreadful harvest of incurable diseases. Influenza, Croup, Bronchitis, Hoarseness, Pleurisy, Whooping Cough, and all irritations of the throat and lungs are easily cured by the CHERRY PECTORAL if taken in season. Every family should have it by them, and they will find it an invaluable protection from the insidious prowler which car

POETRY.

ISOBEL'S CHILD.

BY ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

To rest the weary nurse has gone;
An eight-day watch had she,
Rocking 'neath the sun and moon
The baby on her knee:
Till Isobel its mother said,
'The fever waneth—wend to bed—
And mine the watch shall be.'

Wearily the nurse did throw
Her pallet in the darkest place
Of that sick room, and dreamed.
And as the gusty wind did blow
The night-lamp's flame across her face,
In her dream the poplars seemed,
The tall dark poplars on the hill,
To clasp the sun in a weird constraint,
Till his rays, dropped from him, pined and still
As blossoms in frost; and he waned faint
To the color of moonlight which doth pass
Over the dank ridged churchyard grass!—
The poplars held the sun, and he
The eyes of the nurse, that they should not see,
Not for a moment, the babe on her knee,
Though she shuddered to feel that it grew too chill,
And lay too heavily!—

She only dreamed: for all the while
'Twas Lady Isobel that kept
The little baby; and it slept
Fast warm, as if its mother's smile,
Full of love's unmeted weight,
And red as rose of Harpocrate,
Dropt upon its eyelids, pressed
Lid to cheek in that sweet rest!—

And more and more smiled Isobel
To see the baby sleep so well—
She knew not that she smiled!
Against the latice, dull and wild,
Drive the heavy droning drops,
Drop by drop, the sound being one—
As momently time's segments fall
On th' ear of God, who hears through all,
Eternity's unbroken monotone!—
And more and more smiled Isobel
To see the baby sleep so well—
She knew not that she smiled!—
The wind in intermission stops
Down in the beachen wood—
Then crieth aloud, self-stung, self-driven,
And riseth upward to its tops,
Dilating with a tempest-soul
Of gathered sound, the trees that break
Through their own outline with dark hands, and roll
A shadow massive as a cloud,
Vocal as thunder-clouds in heaven,
Across the castle lake!—
And more and more smiled Isobel
To see the baby sleep so well—
She knew not that she smiled—
She knew not that the storm was wild.
Through that uproar she could not hear
The castle clock which struck anear—
She heard the low, light breathing of her child.
O, sight for wondering look!—
While th' external nature broke
Into such abandonment—
While the very mist, heart-rent
By the lightning, and the shadow,
Shed distortedly above
Sloping hill and lake and meadow,
Seemed, as they all did move
Against nature, with a din—
A sense of silence seemed to come
From things without, and enter in
The human creature's room!—

So motionless she sate,
The babe asleep upon her knees,
You might have dreamed their souls had gone
Away to things inanimate,
To work in such, a life and moan;
And that their bodies had ta'en back
In mystic change, all silences
That cross the sky in cloudy rack,
Or haply dwell beneath the ground
In waters safe from their own sound!—
Only she wore
The deepening smile I named before;
And *that* a deepening love expressed;
And who at once can love and rest?

In sooth, the smile that then was keeping
Watch upon the baby sleeping,
Floated with its tender light
Downward from the dropped eyes.
Upward from the lips apart,
Over cheeks which had grown white
With an eight-day weeping.
All smiles come in such a wise,
Where tears shall fall, or have of old,
Like Northern lights that shoot athwart
The heavens, to token cold!——

Motionless she sate!
The hair had fallen by its weight,
On either side the smile, and lay
Very blackly on the arm
Where the baby nestled warm!
Pale as baby carved in stone,
And seen by glimpses of the moon
In a dark cathedral aisle!
But through the storm no moonbeam fell
Upon the child of Isobel;
I ween you saw it by the ray
Alone of her still smile.

'Tis aye a solemn thing to me
To look upon a babe that sleeps,
Wearing in its spirit-deeps
The unrevealed mystery
Of its Adam's taint and woe,
Which, when they revealed be,
Will not let it slumber so!
Lying new in life beneath
The shadow of the coming death,
With that soft, low, quiet breath,
As if it felt the sun!—
Knowing all things by their blooms,
Not their roots! yea! sun and sky,
Only by the warmth that comes
Out of each!—earth, only by
The pleasant hues that o'er it run!—
And human love, by drops of sweet
White nourishment still hanging round
The little mouth so slumber-bound!—
All which broken sentiency
Will gather, and unite and climb
To an immortality
Good or evil, each sublime,
Through life and death to life again!—
O little lids, now closed fast!
Must ye learn to drop at last
Our large and burning tears?
O warm, quick body! must thou lie,
When is done the round of years,
Bare of all the joy and pain,
Dust in dust—thy place upgiving
To creeping worms in sentient living?—
O small frail being, wilt thou stand
At God's right hand,
Lifting up those sleeping eyes,
Dilated by sublimest destinies,
In endless waking? Thrones and seraphim,
Through the long ranks of their solemnities,
Sunning thee with calm looks of Heaven's surprise—
They look alone on *Him*?—
Or else self-willed, to the Godless place,
(God keep thy will!) feel thine own energies,
Cold, strong, subjectless, like a dead man's clasp,
The sleepless, deathless life within thee, grasp?
While myriad faces, like one changeless face,
With woe *not love's*, shall glass thee everywhere,
And overcome thee with thine own despair?—

More soft, less solemn images
Drifted o'er the lady's heart,
Silently as snow!
She had seen eight days depart,
Hour by hour, on bended knees,
With pale-wrung hands, and prayings low
And broken—through which came the sound
Of tears that fell against the ground,
Making sad stops! 'Dear Lord, dear Lord!'
She aye had prayed—(the heavenly word,
Broken by an earthly sigh!)
'Thou, who didst not erst deny
The mother joy to Mary mild,
Blessed in the blessed child—
Hearkening in meek babyhood
Her cradle hymn, albeit used
To all that music interfused
In breasts of angels high and good!
Oh, take not, Lord, my babe away—
Oh, take not to thy songful heaven
The pretty baby thou hast given;
Or ere that I have seen him play
Around his father's knees, and known
That *he* knew how my love hath gone
From all the world to him!
And how that I shall shiver, dim
In the sunshine, thinking e'er
The grave-grass keeps it from his fair
Still cheeks! and feel at every tread
His little body which is dead
And hidden in the turfy fold,
Doth make the whole warm earth a'cold!

O God! I am so young, so young—
I am not used to tears at nights
Instead of slumber—nor to prayer
With shaken lips and hands out-wrung!
Thou knowest all my prayings were,
'I bless thee, God, for past delights!'
Thank God! I am not used to bear
Hard thoughts of death! The earth doth cover
No face from me of friend or lover!
And must the first who teacheth me
The form of shrouds and funerals, be
Mine own first-born beloved? he
Who taught me first this mother's love?
Dear Lord, who spreadest out above
Thy loving, pierced hands to meet
All lifted hearts with blessing sweet,—
Pierce not my heart, my tender heart,
Thou madest tender! Thou who art
So happy in thy heaven alway,
Take not mine only bliss away!

She so had prayed! and God, who hears
Thro' seraph-songs the sound of tears,
From that beloved babe had ta'en
The fever and the beating pain!
And more and more smiled Isobel
To see the baby sleep so well—
She knew not that she smiled!
Until the pleasant gradual thought
Which near her heart the smile enwrought
Soon strong enough her lips to reach,—
Now soft and slow, itself did seem
To float along a blessed dream,
Beyond it, into speech!—

'I prayed for thee, my little child!
And God hath heard my prayer!
And when thy babyhood is gone,
We two together will kneel down
Upon His earth, which will be fair
To both of us, not covering thee;
And give him thankful praise.'

The rain drives dull and wild!—
Against the lattice it drives!

'I thank Him now, that I can think
Of those same future days—
Nor from the harmless image shrink
Of what I there might see—
Strange babies on their mothers' knee,
Whose innocent soft faces might
From off mine eyelids strike the light,
With looks not meant for me!'

A sound from sound outlives—
Know ye the wind from the rain?—

'But now together, baby mine,
We turn this hope of ours again
To suns 'neath which we shall entwine
Our spirits, and so teach each other
The blessed loves of child and mother!
Two human loves make one divine!'

A sound from sound outlives—
Know ye the rain from the thunder?—

'My little child, what wilt thou choose?
What gladness, from the gladnesses
Futurity is spreading under
Thy gladsome sight? Beneath the trees
Wilt thou sit all day, and lose
Thy spirit with the river, seen
Intermittently between
The winding beachen alleys?
Like a shepherd keeping sheep,
Thou, with only thoughts to keep
Which no bound will overpass—
And which are innocent as those
That feed upon the dewy grass
Among Arcadian valleys?'

The large white owl that with age is blind,
That hath sate for years in the old tree hollow,
Is carried away in a gust of wind!
His wings could bear him not so fast
As he goeth now the lattice past—
He is borne by the winds! the rains do follow!
His white wings to the blast out-flowing,
He hooteth in going,—
And in the lightnings coldly glitter
His round unblinking eyes!

Or, baby, wilt thou think it fitter
To be eloquent and wise?
One upon whose lips the air
Turns to solemn verities,
For men to breathe anew, and win
A deeper-seated life within?
Wilt be a philosopher,
By whose voice the earth and skies
Shall speak to the unborn?
Or a poet, broadly spreading
The golden immortalities
Of his own soul on natures lorn
And poor of such; them all to guard
From their decay? beneath his treading,
Earth's flowers being streaked by hues of Eden;
And stars, drawn downward by his looks
To shine more brightly in his books?'

The tame hawk in the castle-yard,
How it screams to the lightning, with its wet
Jagged plumes o'erhanging the parapet!
And at the lady's door the hound
Beateth with a crying sound!

'But, O my babe, thy lids are laid
Close, fast upon thy cheek!
And not a dream of power and sheen
Can make a passage up between—
Thy heart is of thy mother's made—
Thy looks are very meek!
And it will be their chosen place
To rest on some beloved face,
As these on thine—and let the noise
Of the whole world go on, nor mar
The tender silence of thy joys!
And when the silentnesses are
Too tender for themselves, the same
Yearning for sound—to look above,
And utter their one meaning, LOVE,—
That *He* may hear His name!'

No wind—no rain—no thunder!
The waters dropped not slowly—
The thunder was not spent—
The wind died not away!—
No wind—no rain—no thunder!
Their noises dropped asunder
From th' earth and firmament,
Abrupt and echoless,
As ripe fruits on the ground, unshaken wholly—
As life in death!
And like a stroke the sudden silentness
Sudden and solemn fell.
It startled the shut heart of Isobel,
As tempests could not, from its dreams!
Against the door doth pant the breath
O' the hound whose cry is still—
And *she* uplifts the lidded gleams
Of her clear eyes, and sees the moon
Looking out of heaven alone
Upon the poplared hill!
Seeming a calm of God, made visible
That men might find it fair!

The moonlight on the baby's face
Falleth clear and cold!
The mother's looks are falling there—
Because the beauty of the skies
Have not power long to hold
Our loving human eyes!
We still revert to this dark place,
And weep our natures into light!

The moonlight on the baby's face
Cold and clear remaineth!
The mother's looks do shrink away,
The mother's looks return to stay,
As charmed by what paineth.
Is it dream, or is it sight?
Hath the change upon the wild
Elements, that signs the night,
Passed upon the child?
It is not dream, but sight!

The babe hath awaked from sleep,
And toward the gaze of its mother,
Bent over it, turned another!
Not the baby-looks that go
Unaimingly to and fro;
But an earnest gazing deep,
Such as soul gives soul at length,
When through work and wail of years,
It hath won a solemn strength,
And mourneth as it wears!
And a strong man could not brook
With a pulse unstirred by fears,
To meet that baby's look
O'erglazed by manhood's tears—
The tears of the man full grown,
With the power to wring our own,
(The silent power,) that lie
In the eyes all undefiled
Of a little three months' child!
To see that babe-brow, wrought
By witnessings of thought!
And the small soft mouth unweened
(By mother's kiss o'erleaned
To put the sound of loving
Where no sound else was moving,
Except the speechless cry)
Carved to mind's expression,
Shaped to articulation—
Yea! speaking words—yea! naming woe
In tones that with it strangely went,
Because so baby-innocent!
The child spake to the mother so!

'O mother, mother! loose thy prayer!
Christ's name hath made it strong!
It bindeth me, it holdeth me
With its most loving cruelty,
From floating my new soul along
The blessed heavenly air!
It bindeth me, it holdeth me
In all this dark, upon this dull
Low earth, by only weepers trod!—
It bindeth me, it holdeth me!—
Mine angel looketh sorrowful
Upon the face of God.*

'Mother, mother! can I dream
Beneath your earthly trees?
I had a vision and a gleam—
I heard a sound more sweet than these
When lifted by the wind!
Did you see the Dove with wings
Overdropt with glistenings
From a sunless light behind,
Falling on mine heart from sky,
Soft as mother's kiss, until
I seemed to leap, and yet was still!
Saw you how his love-large eye
Looked on me mystic calms,
Until the power of his divine
Vision was indrawn to mine?

'Oh! the dream within the dream!
I saw celestial places, even!
Oh! the high and vista'd palms,
Making finites of delight
Through the heavenly infinite—
Lifting up their green still tops
To the heaven of heaven!
Oh! the sweet life-tree that drops
Shade like light across the river
Glorified in its forever
Flowing from the Throne
Oh! the shining holinesses
Of the thousand, thousand faces
God-sunned by the thronèd ONE!
Overspread with such a love,
That though I saw them turned above,
Each loving seemed for also me!
And, oh! th' Unspeakable! the HE—
The manifest in secrecies,
Yet of mine own heart partaker!
With the overcoming look
Of one who hath been once forsook,
And blesseth the forsaker!
Mother, mother, let me go
Toward the face that looketh so!
Through the mystic living Four
Whose are inward outward eyes
Dark with light of mysteries,
And the restless evermore
'Holy holy'—through the crowned
Stately elders white around—
Through the sworded Seraphim—
Suffer me to go to Him!

'Is your wisdom very wise,
Mother, on the narrow earth?
Very happy, very worth
That I should stay to learn?
Are these air-corrupting sighs
Fashioned by unlearned breath?
Do the students' lamps that burn
All night, illumine death?
Mother! albeit this be so,
Loose thy prayer, and let me go
Where that bright chief angel stands
Apart from all his brother bands.
Too glad for smiling! having bent
In angelic wilderment
O'er the depths of God, and brought
Reeling, hence, one only thought
To fill his whole eternity!
He the teacher is for me!
He can teach what I would know—
Mother, mother, let me go!
Can your poet make an Eden
No winter will undo?
And light a starry fire, in heeding
His hearth's is burning too?
Drown in music earthly din?—
And keep his own wild soul within
The law of his own harmony?—
Mother, albeit this be so,
Let me to mine Heaven go!
A little harp me waits thereby,
A harp whose strings are golden all,
And tuned to music spherical,
Hanging on the green life-tree,
Where no willows ever be.
Shall I miss that harp of mine?
Mother, no! the Eye divine
Turned upon it, makes it shine—
And when I touch it, poems sweet
Like separate souls shall fly from it,
Each to an immortal fytte!
We shall all be poets there,
Gazing on the chiefest Fair!

'And love! earth's love! and *can* we love
Fixedly where all things move?
Can the sinning love each other?
Mother, mother,
I tremble in thy close embrace—
I feel thy tears adown my face—
Thy prayers do keep me out of bliss—
O dreary earthly love!
Loose thy prayer, and let me go
To the place that loving is,
Yet not sad! and when is given
Escape to *thee* from this below,
Thou wilt see me that I wait
For thee at the happy gate!'
And silence shall be up in heaven,
To hear our meeting kiss!'

The nurse wakes in the morning sun,
And starts to see beside her bed
The lady, with a grandeur spread,
Like pathos, o'er her face, as one
God-satisfied and earth undone!—
The babe upon her arm was dead!
And the nurse could utter forth no cry,—
She was awed by the calm in the mother's eye!

'Wake, nurse!'—the lady said:
'*We* are waking—*he* and I—
I, on earth, and he, in sky!
And thou must help me to o'erlay
With garment white, this little clay
Which needs no more our lullaby.

I changed the cruel prayer I made,
And bowed my meekened face, and prayed
That God would do His will! and thus
He did it, nurse! He parted *us*.
His sun is showing on my arm
The dead calm face!—and *I* am calm.

This earthly noise is too anear,
Too loud, and will not let me hear
The harp new-stricken! Death will soon
Make silence!'——

And a *sense of tune*,
A satisfied love, meanwhile,
Most like the lost one's living smile,
Sang on within her soul!

Oh ye!
Earth's tender-hearted! may ye be
Made confident, to yield your love
To the so Named, who, throned above,
Shall all its ends fulfil:
Breaking the narrow prayers that may
Befit your narrow hearts, away
In His broad, loving will!

*For I say unto you that, in heaven, their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.—Matt. 18: 10.

THE DYING BOY TO HIS MOTHER.

There are angels, bright angels here, mother,
With voices sweet and low;
They lovingly speak to your child, mother;
They bid me with them go:
They come to bear me away, mother,
To a happier world than this;
They lay my head on your breast, mother,
And softly my forehead kiss.

Hark! do you hear the music, mother?
The music rich and clear,
That comes from the golden harps, mother,
The angels with them bear?
O! see their shining wings, mother,
How they glisten in the light!
I am going with them now, mother;
My mother dear, good night!

With silence only as their benediction,
God's angels come
Where, in the shadow of a great affliction,
The soul sits dumb.

God calls our loved ones, but we lose not wholly
What he hath given;
They live on earth, in thought and deed, as truly
As in His heaven. WHITTIER.

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Tribune.

CRIMES OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

The public demonstrations and processions of last evening, by the European refugees, in honor of the memory of Orsini, which are reported in our columns to-day, are of too singular and striking a character not to deserve notice. This is the first time in the history of our Republic, that assassination has received public honors of the kind; and we deem it due to the American people to state that it is an exotic, allowed by the freedom of our laws, but not countenanced by the sentiment of the nation. While speaking thus, we wish to be understood that we hold to the doctrine, that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, and that an oppressed people has the right to rid itself of oppression, at whatever cost. But we do not defend the mode, in the case of Orsini, any more than we do the homicide of Louis Napoleon, himself a prime assassin. Given the supposition that a tyrant must be got rid of, that does not carry with it the right to sacrifice innocent bystanders wholesale. But, in order that our readers may judge fairly of the immense wrongs which center in the souls of those who took part in the demonstration of last evening, we will recite briefly the crimes of the present Emperor of the French.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was, in 1848, through the generosity of the Republican leaders, admitted back to France, from which, up to that time, along with other members of the Napoleonic family, he had been excluded. By this means, he became a member of the National Assembly, and a candidate for President. On his nomination to the latter office, he made the following declaration to the electors:

'If I should be elected President, I shall devote myself, without mental reservation, to consolidating a republic, wise in its laws, honest in its intentions, great and powerful in its acts. I pledge my honor to leave, at the end of *four years*, power consolidated, liberty untouched, and real progress accomplished.'

Believing these pledges, the people elected him, and he then renewed them in his inaugural oath, December, 1848. Raising his right hand, he then said: 'In the presence of God, and before the French people, represented by the National Assembly, I swear fidelity to the Democratic Republic, one and indivisible, and to fulfill all the duties imposed on me by the Constitution.' Instead of keeping his pledges and oath, and fulfilling his duties, he devoted himself to planning a *coup d'etat*, which was essayed in 1850, but defeated, and, at the second attempt in 1851, was successfully achieved. How this was accomplished may be understood by reviewing the state of parties in France at that period. Beside the Legitimists, Orleanists and Imperialists, there were two classes who viewed with disfavor the establishment of a French Republic, and wished for its overthrow on any terms. These were the clergy and the majority of the leading army officers, because the Republicans wished to dissociate Church and State as much as possible, and reduce the numbers, expenses and overshadowing influence of the army, which amounted in time of peace to half a million men. In connection with the clergy and military, accordingly, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte secretly laid his plans, and, upon the 2d of December, 1851, France being at peace, and having largely recovered from the disasters incident to the Revolution of 1848, he accomplished his purpose of overthrowing the Republic. He had then been President for three years, and was bound by his oath to retire peaceably at the end of the following year. There was no cause in threatened danger to the State for such a seizure of power. The Republic, of which he was the head, was regularly established, and, but for his criminal ambition, would have endured, in spite of some bad laws, passed by a coalition of Legitimists, Orleanists and Bonapartists, in opposition to the real Republican members of the National Assembly.

Before dawn, on December 2, 1851, the plans of the conspirators being complete, the Prefect of Police, De Maupas, with bands of his men, broke into the houses, in Paris, of nearly one hundred leading opponents of Louis Bonaparte's ambitious designs, seized them, and threw them into prison. The city was then invested by 120,000 troops, whose officers were conspirators; the National Assembly were dispersed at the point of the bayonet, and 300 of its members imprisoned. The first Napoleon had similarly violated the Constitution, by expelling the members of the Legislature from their hall, by force of arms, on the 18th Brumaire. The Constitution of 1848, in view of the possibility of another such attempted crime by the Chief Magistrate, contained the following as its 68th article:

'Any measure by which the President of the Republic dissolves the National Assembly, prorogues it, or interposes any obstacle to the exercise of its mandates, is a crime of high treason. By such act, the President is stripped of his functions, the people are required to refuse him obedience, and the executive power passes with full force into the hands of the Assembly.'

Louis Napoleon having, 'in the presence of God and the French people,' sworn fidelity to this Constitution, committed perjury and high treason in thus forcibly dissolving the Assembly, and thereby ceased to be President of the Republic. The Government from that moment, according to the Constitution, was vested in the National Assembly, who had escaped arrest and imprisonment at his hands, accordingly incited the people to resistance. Barricades were raised on the 4th of December, 1851. The fight began. Orders were issued by Louis Napoleon to the troops to show no quarter to all found with arms, and even to shoot down all unarmed citizens who ventured in the streets. Seven Brigades simultaneously attacked seven sets of barricades with cannon, and carried them at the point of the bayonet. At the same time, the Boulevards were occupied by 60,000 troops. Groups of unarmed citizens, men, women and children, were fired on, as well as ridden down by the cavalry. Artillery was brought to bear on dwelling-houses, and their inhabitants were put to the sword. The number of Republicans who fell defending the Constitution at the barricades, and of peaceable and unarmed citizens murdered in the streets of Paris by the usurper's troops, was 2,650. Simultaneous uprisings of the people in defence of the Constitution occurred throughout France, and the same terrible vengeance overtook them at the hands of the army, thoroughly in league with the usurper. A Reign of Terror was established. The cry of 'Long live the Republic!' was called seditious, and doomed its utterer to instant death or imprisonment. Louis Bonaparte issued a decree as follows, published on the 9th of December, 1851:

'All persons proved to be members of secret societies shall be transported to the penal settlements of Cayenne or Algiers.'

This decree had particular reference to the members of the Republican Clubs. Other decrees by De Morny, Minister of the Interior, and De Maupas, Prefect of Police, ordered the Prefects of the eighty-six Departments 'to make everywhere arrests on a grand scale, to strike terror.' These orders were fulfilled literally, and the number of Republicans arrested was so immense that the prisons overflowed, and other buildings had to be used for incarcerating the patriots. In the Department of Lot-et-Garonne, 1,500 Republicans were cast into prison; in the two Departments of Allier and Cher, 6,000 were imprisoned; in the Department of Herault, there were 2,166, of whom 1,574 were transported to Algiers; in Nievre, 6,000 were imprisoned, of whom 1,000 were transported to Cayenne and Algiers; in the Department of the Seine, 30,000 were imprisoned; in the Department of Var, the number imprisoned was 2,281, and of these 748 were transported to Algiers; in the Department of Basses-Alpes, 1,994 were imprisoned, of whom 41 were transported to Cayenne, and 953 to Algiers. Imprisonments and transportations were made on the same scale throughout France, and according to the best authorities, in the eighty-six Departments, 200,000 were imprisoned, of whom 40,000 were transported like felons to the penal settlements, or simply exiled. The number transported to Algiers was 11,000. Some Departments were almost decimated, and some towns more than decimated; for example, in the little town of Bonny, Department of Loiret, of only 2,000 inhabitants, 400 were cast into prison for sustaining the Constitution which Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had sworn to uphold. Numbers of women—ladies—were among the transported; and even boys—the council of war over which General Bertrand presided, having sent to Cayenne thirteen lads, the eldest of whom was only fifteen years of age. Martial law was declared in many Departments, and drum-head courts were the supreme legal tribunals.

French history shows nothing equal in unprovoked atrocity to Louis Napoleon's *coup d'etat* since the massacre of the Huguenots—the reign of Terror of 1793 hardly excepted; for be it remembered, the total number of victims of the Paris Revolutionary Tribunal of Robespierre, in the fifteen months of its existence, was 1,862. The only crime of these 200,000 victims of Louis Bonaparte's Reign of Terror was devotion to the Republic, and opposition to his usurpation. Many were exiled for life for simply crying, 'Long live the Republic!' The Republican prisoners and exiles included men of the greatest distinction, talents, wealth, worth, and political moderation, though the usurper's confederates stigmatized them as enemies of property, religion and order. They were crowded in prison from ten to a hundred in a single cell, in the dead of winter, without fire, without beds, without change of clothing, without medical attendance for sickness and wounds, and without sufficient food. Pestilential diseases raged among them, and their sufferings in prisons, in the hulks, and in Cayenne and Algiers, concentrated the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition, the middle passage, and the Bastile. To show the class of men so persecuted, we give the names of the occupants of one horrible little cell at Moulins: Champgobert, journalist, imprisoned for publishing the 68th article of the Constitution above quoted, and subsequently transported to Algiers for the same *crime*; Bruel, a rich iron merchant; Desciveaux, principal lawyer of the town; Dumet, his clerk; Marceaux, tailor; Mousset, physician; Desages, editor; Gueston, a rich land-owner; and the two brothers Paillard, merchants. In spite of the destruction of the liberty of the press in France, and the concealment of the extent of the massacres and persecutions, the Republican exiles in England and elsewhere have obtained and published the names of many thousand victims like those above mentioned.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte having thus accomplished the *coup d'etat*, destroyed personal liberty and that of the press, rendered the army the supreme and permanent instrument of his power, and covered France with spies and policemen; and, finding his usurpation complete, ordered sham elections by which he was made Emperor, and under which title he still holds supreme power. Whether the people of France willingly submit to the military reign of terror which has prevailed since the *coup d'etat*, cannot be known. Within the past year, however, thousands of arrests have taken place, and the secret society, called the 'Marianne,' 'the Militante,' and so forth, are supposed at this moment to embody a vast Red-Republican force. The census in France is taken every five years, and if increase of population is in the ratio of national prosperity, the period since the *coup d'etat* must have been the most disastrous of the present century. For it appears the increase from 1851 to 1856 was only 256,194 in a population of over 35,000,000. This increase has never been so small in any quinquennial period since the year 1800. From 1801 to 1806 it was greater, and from 1841 to 1846 nearly five times as great. In 54 of the 86 departments, the population since the *coup d'etat* has actually decreased.

Such are the facts and the results in France of the usurpation of Louis Napoleon. We are aware that, in vulgar estimation, political success hallows any crime; but we are not of that opinion, and sympathize with those that are in bonds, wherever found. We believe that these facts just presented, and never before so fully condensed, will enable our readers to judge of the ghastly wrongs inflicted by the great assassin and perjurer on the poor exiles in question, and on their fellow-sufferers and martyrs.

From the American Baptist.

THE ITALIAN CONSPIRATORS.

Orsini and Pierri have paid the penalty of their attempt upon the life of Napoleon III. Having failed to accomplish their design, they are branded as assassins; had they succeeded, they would have been extolled as the deliverers of a gallant nation. Many of the English papers, following in the wake of the mouth-pieces of Napoleon, and exhibiting Orsini in the light of a common assassin, have done injustice to a well-meaning but misguided patriot. The crime for which he has suffered differs in no essential feature from a hundred other attempts to overthrow despotism, which the page of history holds up as examples of heroic virtue. Such is the partiality with which Fame bestows her favors.

We do not believe that Christianity sanctions conspiracy, even against the life of a tyrant; but Orsini had not imbibed his principles of action from the New Testament. He was a Papist, so far as he had any religion; and yet he was an intense hater of the Papal despotism which Napoleon had forced upon Italy. His ideas of morality were borrowed from those of the Republicans around him, and we cannot wonder that they rose to no higher standard than that of the age and nation in which he lived. He knew that Napoleon was a conspirator, not merely against Louis Philippe, but against the Republic he had sworn to maintain; he knew the highest tribunal of the nation had, before its forcible dispersion, passed a formal sentence upon the President as a traitor to his country, and he doubtless conceived that the execution of that sentence, by whomsoever performed, would be a noble and meritorious deed. Orsini's crime is aggravated by the premeditated destruction of so many innocent persons; and yet this was only carrying out the common war-principle, which sacrifices the innocent to reach the guilty. Cities are bombarded, and inoffensive men, women and children destroyed, in order to punish a few individuals; whole countries are laid desolate to avenge the aggressions or insults of an imbecile king. If Orsini put the lives of others in jeopardy, it must be remembered that he exposed his own to still greater risk.

The letters addressed by Orsini to his daughters, before leaving Italy on the desperate mission which led to his imprisonment in Mantua, are tender and affecting. He sent to them from Switzerland two little hearts, with locks of his hair, and his portrait, to be kept by their uncle, and delivered to them when he should live no longer.

'Before concluding,' says he, in his letter, 'I must give you some advice which you will retain, my dear children, as a paternal memorial, and which may be a valuable guide to you throughout your lives: at least, I hope and wish so. First, believe in God! I have a firm conviction of his existence. Second, possess unalterable principles of honor! Mark! I do not mean those malleable and material principles; no, but those which are universally recognized as such by all peoples and nations, which do not alter with the changes of time, of country, of governments; I mean those principles which are eternal truths, absolute, immutable, not depending on any one's caprice. Pay attention to this. Everybody considers himself honorable; but this is not always seen in his acts, and instead of it we find deceit, hypocrisy, equivocation, and cunning words to injure others. This is what the greater part of men do who regard the principles of honor as a piece of Indian rubber. When the true principles have taken root in you, as I have explained, and are considered by you as the basis of public and private morality, you must necessarily be lovers of your country, honest, affectionate towards your parents, pure in your youth, pure and faithful to your husbands to whom you may be married; in fine, loving towards your children, and adorned with the finest qualities which can be desired in women, destined by God and nature to embellish the life of man, and to render his existence less miserable.'

The cautious and conservative correspondent of the *London Times*, whose description of the execution we have copied on another page, fails to give any idea of the extraordinary precautions taken to prevent all public sympathy with the prisoners. Fuller particulars are given in the correspondence of the *Daily News* and the *Manchester Guardian*. So great was the alarm of Government, that an entire division of the troops was on the ground, in personal command of a general officer. Fifteen thousand soldiers were ready to act on the slightest signal, and every issue and outlet were guarded as in times of insurrection. It is estimated that not less than 100,000 men of the faubourgs, workmen in blouses, were assembled in the spaces and in the streets near the Place de la Roquette; but they could see little or nothing. All the places commanding a view of the guillotine were occupied by sentries. Seats at the windows in private houses had been rented for large sums, but the occupants were remorselessly driven away, by the military. The crowd were kept off nearly a quarter of a mile from the prison. When the dead, dull sound of the falling knife upon Orsini was heard, it was responded to by an immense but smothered cry of *Vive la Republique!* It is said to have been a gigantic murmur, that sounded like a breath or sigh from thousands of human beings. It was well appreciated by the authorities, for on the instant the soldiers raised the most disorderly clatter imaginable; struck their horses, so as to make them plunge and kick, shook their arms, and contrived that the popular whisper should be stifled without being literally put down. The informant of the *Guardian* says, 'I purposely went home on foot, threading my way through the groups wherever I found them thickest, and everywhere I heard expressions of sympathy and admiration for Orsini, whose crime seems utterly forgotten, while only the effect produced by his courage and generosity towards his associates remains. Pierri's name I did not hear once. The attitude of the populace was, I should say, extremely menacing, for it has the marks of a deep hate and thirst for vengeance.'

The *London Freeman*, (Baptist,) in sketching the character of this unfortunate man, uses the following appropriate language:

'The life of a man vastly superior to the vulgar crowd of legislators even in this country, of a man who would have shone, or, at least, have taken a high place in the Senate or Administration of a free Rome, has thus been cut prematurely short. Happy is Austria, and happy are the Italian despots, that one of the band who prize their country's liberty above their own lives, is now no more. Well pleased are they, too, that they can dismiss him from earth with execrations against assassination, and can drown in clamors against *his* guilt, the guilt of hundreds of assassinations of their own, infinitely worse. Patriotism must, indeed, deplore that patriots can forget that first of social and divine laws, 'Thou shalt not kill.' She must mourn when her children dishonor her name by trifling with the blood of the innocent, and by attacking the guilty themselves with the weapons of blind and useless revenge. Yet was Orsini's crime that of an unselfish, noble mind. The end did not justify the means; but still the end was to deliver his down-trodden fatherland, and to this *end* he offered his own life to the terrific explosion, or to the scaffold.

'We leave it to journals who can do it, in the interest of despots, to attempt to vulgarize men like Orsini and Mazzini, and Saffi. It is useless; truth and nature will resume her sway; and, while the crime of Orsini is confessed to be of awful magnitude, the candid and truthful will only see reflected in it the enormity of the crimes against Italy which could blind her patriots to the guilt of wholesale murder in her name.'

THE NEW REIGN OF TERROR.

To the Editor of the London Daily News:—

SIR: The work of persecution in France is going on silently, but unceasingly. Doomed prisoners are continuing to reach Marseilles every night from all the *departemens*. They are conveyed, like the *repris de justice*, in cellular vans. The arrests were all predetermined. They took place simultaneously in all localities, a few days before the promulgation of the Law of Public Safety from old and recent lists of names merely marked with the word 'republican.' They are very numerous. The Governor of Algeria writes, urging for other places of confinement being chosen. Algiers alone has already seven hundred prisoners. It is in the midst of at least apparent tranquillity, a second and enlarged edition of the *coup d'etat*.

The ferocity in the execution of the orders is rivalling the Syllan despotism of the measure. Allow me to quote a few instances.

M. Lebrun, a notary of Charot, arrondissement of Bourges, department of the Cher, was arrested at the end of his dinner. Struck by the suddenness of the measure, he was taken ill. He was refused all help, and was brutally dragged into the van. On the way, at St. Florent, he implored for a medical man, and was equally refused. On reaching the maison d'arret, at Bourges, his state was such that the jailer declined to receive him. He was taken to the hospital, where, soon after, he died.

Jean Bartheix, innkeeper at Mazannet, department of the Tarn, 70 years old, had been transported to Cayenne in 1852, from whence, three years after, he was removed to Algiers. He remained there until February, 1858. Being then seized with a severe complaint (swelling of the liver), he obtained a ticket of leave for six months, and hastened home. Eight days after he was arrested, manacled, dragged from prison to prison to Marseilles, where he is now in a dying state, and without any medical help.

Frederico Castaldi, an Italian exile, residing at Marseilles, and there earning his bread by trading, was ordered on the 16th of November last to Poictiers. He submitted; but all his prospects and hopes resting on his sojourning at Marseilles, he urged some friends to act for him in Paris. His conduct having been always peaceful and absolutely inoffensive, he was listened to; and the Chef de Surete Publique promised to M. Salles, chief librarian at the Ministry of the Interior, that his request would be granted, should some respectable person come forward as security for him. M. Taxile Delort volunteered and was accepted. On M. Salles communicating the information to M. Besson, Prefect at Marseilles, Castaldi went back, and took up his abode at l'Etagne, a villa near the town. On the 29th of January, he was however arrested, thrown into prison; then, without a single interrogatory, sent, on the 2d of April, to Lambessa. I am, &c.,

April 8. JOSEPH MAZZINI.

TWO IN HEAVEN.

'You have two children,' said I.

'I have four,' was the reply—'two on earth, two in Heaven.'

There spoke the mother! Still hers, only gone before! Still remembered, loved and cherished, by the hearth and at the board; their places not yet filled, even though their successors draw life from the same breast where their dying heads were pillowed.

'Two in Heaven!'

Safely housed from storm and tempest. No sickness there, nor drooping head, nor fading eye, nor weary feet. By green pastures, tended by the good Shepherd, linger the little lambs of the heavenly fold.

'Two in Heaven!'

Earth less attractive. Eternity nearer. Invisible cords drawing the material soul upwards. 'Still small voices' ever whisper 'Come!' to the world-weary spirit.

'Two in Heaven!'

Mother of angels! Walk softly! Holy eyes watch thy footsteps! Cherub forms bend to listen. Keep thy spirit free from earth-taint; so shalt thou go to them, though they may not return to thee.

ELOCUTION

IS rapidly rising in favor, and a competent teacher of this art will supply a long-felt want. Miss H. G. GUNDERSON, Teacher to the Mercantile Academy, No. 11 Mercantile Building, Summer street, offers her services in this department to Colleges, Academies, Schools, professional gentlemen, ladies, and all who wish to acquire a correct style of reading and speaking.

Miss G. has permission to refer to the following gentlemen:—

G. F. THAYER, Esq., late Principal of the Chauncy Hall School.
AMOS BAKER, Esq., Principal of Chapman Hall School.
Rev. J. W. OLMSTEAD, Editor of the Watchman and Reflector.
Rev. C. F. BARNARD, Warren St. Chapel.
Prof. H. B. HACKETT, Newton Theological Seminary.
Prof. ALVAH HOVEY, " " "
Rev. O. S. STEARNS, Newton Centre.
Rev. J. NEWTON BROWN, D. D., Philadelphia.
Rev. L. F. BEECHER, D. D., Principal of Saratoga Female Seminary.

Boston, May 1, 1857. 1y

Speech by Theodore Parker.

THE PRESENT ASPECT OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA, and the Immediate Duty of the North: A Speech delivered in the Hall of the State House, before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Convention, on Friday night, January 29, 1858. By THEODORE PARKER. Price, 17 cents. Just published, and for sale by ELA MARSH, No. 14 Bromfield street.

Also, for sale as above, all of Mr. Parker's works, either in pamphlet form, or bound in cloth.

Meh26 tf

IMPROVEMENT IN CHAMPOOING AND HAIR-DYEING.

MADAM BANNISTER (formerly Madam CANTEAUX) would inform her kind and liber